MONACO AND MONTE CARLO

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MONACO AND MONTE CARLO

STE. DÉVOTE

MONACO

AND

MONTE CARLO

BY

ADOLPHE SMITH

With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings
by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with
Forty-eight Illustrations in
Black and White

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PREFACE

To describe the economic, social and political conditions of a country, the good will and assistance of the authorities responsible for its government must be secured.

Fortunately, a lifelong acquaintance with the Principality of Monaco has placed me in a favourable position. So far back as 1882, I was well known to the officials as collaborating with the late Doctor Pickering, in writing and publishing a small book entitled "Monaco, the Beauty Spot of the Riviera." Subsequently I was deputed to investigate various epidemics on the Riviera, notably the cholera epidemics of 1884, 1885 and 1893. The energetic denunciations and scientific reports I then contributed to The Lancet, *describing the insanitary conditions prevailing at the so-called health resorts, contributed in no small measure to bring about the notable improvements now realised along the whole Riviera, and especially at Monaco. More recently, during the Conference of the International Association of the Medical Press, which met at Monaco in 1902, I was appointed spokesman of the eight nationalities represented. In the name of the leading medical journals published by the principal nations of Europe, I had to address his Serene Highness, Prince Albert I., and explained that we were doubly honoured. We were honoured by the regal reception and bounteous hospitality accorded to us by his Highness as Prince of Monaco. But there was a more intimate link. We attached still greater value to the privilege of being the guests of a man of science who had rendered the world service by his original research and discoveries.*

In the same year I acted as interpreter from French

into English and from English into French of all the speeches delivered at the International Peace Congress, likewise held in Monaco. This again brought me into personal contact with the reigning Prince. Finally, I am also indebted to the friendly support given me by Professor Charles Richet of the Paris Academy of Medicine. Professor Richet accompanied the Prince on one of his deep-sea exploring expeditions, and is a fellow-worker in the International Peace Movement to which Prince Albert is so earnestly attached. Such, I presume, are the principal reasons which account for the gracious reception accorded to me at the Court of Monaco, and for the fact that every assistance has been tendered me to facilitate the accomplishment of my task.

During a long audience with the Prince, I endeavoured to explain that the book I proposed to write would deal partly with past history, but more especially with modern problems. These comprised many economic, social, political and psychological subjects. Then there were the arts and sciences that could be studied with special advantage in the principality. In conclusion I inquired whether his Highness could recommend some similar work. To my surprise, and without a moment's hesitation, Prince Albert replied that there was no such book in existence. There were some excellent works, each dealing with one special subject, such as that written by the historian, Gustave Saige, on "Monaco: Its Origins and History." There were the reports and books on the anthropological researches and oceanographic explorations made by, or under the direct supervision of, the Prince himself. But neither in French nor any other language had any general book on Monaco been published.

A few days later I was conversing with Mr Frédéric Wicht, the General Director of the Casino, and I put to him exactly the same question; only to receive precisely the same reply. Such a work as I proposed, though much needed, had never been attempted. There were doubtless hundreds, indeed thousands, of books and pamphlets on Monaco or

Monte Carlo. Some of these were obvious advertisements, others merely pocket guides; but the majority were scurrilous sensational publications issued in the hope of extorting blackmail. A serious study of the many problems at issue, written impartially, had not seen the light of day. If I felt the strength to grapple with such a variety of subjects the Directors of the Casino, as well as the Government, would put at my disposal every facility.

What this meant no one can well imagine till taught by experience. To have access to headquarters for all the information needed is indeed a great advantage and privilege; but who could foresee that in so small a principality there would be so many headquarters? Each of these departments has its technical chief, who naturally imagines that those who call upon him know something about his technique. My long experience as an investigator of all matters concerning the public health of many nations in Europe, Africa and America had fortunately rendered me familiar with numerous technical problems of local government, but at Monaco some of the subjects were of necessity quite new. On these occasions, I had to confess my ignorance and plead for patience and kindness so that I might be allowed to learn. On the high rock of Monaco we have the sciences, notably Oceanography and Anthropology. Mostly on the lower levels and down by the Condamine there are industries, such as art pottery, panification, brewing, the building of the port and its growing trade, the gas-works, the market, the scent distillery, etc. Finally, at Monte Carlo we have a haven for the fine arts, especially those connected with music and the stage. Throughout floriculture and horticulture receive the most lavish and scientific attention. Every one of these (and many other) forms of activity has its fully qualified technical chief, ready to give forth a wonderful account of how his experience has been enriched by the munificent manner in which his special pursuit is encouraged and developed. In other countries, insufficient financial resources, the difficulty of making ends meet, cripple the work, and check the happy

results that only need sufficient encouragement to bud forth triumphantly.

Here, on the contrary, is a small principality where, proportionately speaking, more money is spent on local government, on public works, on the promotion of original research, on the arts and sciences, than is the case in any other part of the world. This will appear the more remarkable when it is noted that it has all been done without awakening irate taxpayers or leading to the creation of a Ratepayers' Protective League. The fact is that the principality has applied with such remarkable success the principle of "taxing the foreigner" that there is no necessity for any home tax whatsoever. It is true that indirect taxation is maintained: customs duties on tobacco, matches and stamps, exactly as in France. But this is not done for the sake of the revenue resulting, which after all amounts only to the comparatively insignificant sum of 700,000 francs. Its sole object is to prevent Monaco becoming to France what Gibraltar has been to Spain—namely, a great smuggling centre.

With the exception, then, of the small sum derived from indirect taxation, the vast revenues of the principality are obtained solely from the foreigner and the alien. Nor is there any compulsion about this very convenient form of taxation. On the contrary, not only are none allowed to contribute unless they prove, with papers and passports in hand, that they are foreigners, but, it is at least the theory that if they are poor and cannot afford it, even though they are foreigners their contribution is not accepted.

No history of the principality would be complete without a very full and carefully studied account of the organisation of the casino and its gaming-tables, where, from all parts of the world, millions of people come and voluntarily risk their money. That they thus without murmur or question defray all the cost of local government, the cost of the festivals, concerts, performances, balls, sports, etc., organised by the casino, and further yield fat dividends to the shareholders is a social, economical and psychological phenomenon

of the most far-reaching significance and of absorbing interest.

What is this fascinating game, erroneously attributed to a priest, the great mathematician, Pascal? What particle of truth is there in all the wild stories related? What about the infallible systems, which somehow are mainly infallible only in the regularity with which they prove failures? To judge of these things it is necessary to examine into the details very minutely. It was only when I was introduced into the gaming saloons before they were opened to the public, witnessed how the four different functionaries appointed inspected and tested each table, when I was permitted to lift the wheel off, and see its internal structure, and make some few experiments with my own hands, that I realised how little foundation there is for the stories told about playing to defects, and controlling the results. Absolute honesty, combined with all the precision of a scientific instrument, explains the constant influx of speculators ready to risk their money where they know exactly what prospect of winning is before them. If so many lose, it is because so few are content with a moderate gain: and here also we have an observatory for the contemplation of human weakness and overreaching avarice. This is often accompanied by the most extraordinary, and at times very amusing, developments of absolutely unreasoning superstitions. On the other hand, mathematicians of great distinction have burned the midnight oil to study the laws of chance as illustrated by the records of the roulette-table.

It would be dull work to convert this preface into a catalogue of the subjects treated in the present volume. My only object is to explain how I have been able to collect the information, and what, on broad lines, is the scope of the book. The great variety of important and instructive problems opened out will, I trust, awaken interest in the principality. The reader will realise that this little state has served as a laboratory where practical legislative and other experiments have been, and are being, made, that serve as educational demonstrations for the benefit of many

nations. Then the chief of the state also enjoys exceptional opportunities of rendering humanity inestimable service. It is well known that Prince Albert I. has availed himself of his privileged position; and on more than one occasion his unofficial and friendly intervention has contributed, at very critical moments, to preserve the peace of Europe.

The little principality is thus not merely the most popular pleasure resort of Europe, but a laboratory where some of the greatest problems of the day are studied and original research carried forward under very favourable conditions. This double part might be defined as—Monaco for pacific diplomacy, for scientific research and for humanitarian endeavours; Monte Carlo for art, beauty, luxury, pleasure, extravagance and folly: such is the dual life, the dual aspect of the principality. The least worthy side is the best-known to the public at large. The object of this work is to make both aspects equally familiar.

ADOLPHE SMITH.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

THE MYTHOLOGY OF MONACO

ANTHROPOLOGY and mythology rather than history supply the earliest beginnings of our knowledge concerning Monaco and its peoples. History does not go so far back, and is certainly not more reliable. In any case, it seems as if histories that passed current half-a-century ago have to be rewritten in the light of modern critical analysis. The history of Monaco has not escaped this common fate. The old traditions have been challenged. Only that which is proved on evidence after careful examination can now be accepted. The very pedigree of Monaco's princes is exposed to the meticulous scrutiny of the modern critics, who refuse to treat tradition with unquestioning reverence. Fortunately Monaco has become a centre for the promotion of science, especially the sciences which deal with the earliest manifestations of life. Thus it does seem as if the ancient worship established on this rock is now bearing fruit. If the plankton—that is, the fine living dust which floats on the face of the deep—be the first or earliest manifestation of life, the materialisation of the spirit that moved on the waters, then assuredly the science of oceanography will constitute the first chapter in the history of the living world, and Monaco is now the world's chief centre for the study of this new science.

Monaco is also a centre, though of less importance, for another new science which may be considered as the second chapter in the history of life. Monaco has its Archæological Institute, with its scholars, its explorers, its museum and its funds for the endowment of original

research. Here are collected rare palæontological treasures that disclose the ingenuity, the artistic aspirations, the modes of existence prevailing in prehistoric times. Finally, we have also at Monaco archives which are among the richest in Europe, and where a vast accumulation of original documents and state correspondence give real and interesting testimony bearing on important historical events of recent and of mediæval times. Thus while enjoying unusual climatic advantages in the midst of beautiful scenery coupled with all the comforts of modern town life, the lover of science and history finds at Monaco exceptional facilities for study. Dividing his investigations into three parts we have first biology in the library, the laboratories, the small experimental aquaria, the large public aquarium and the palatial museum of the Oceanographic Institute: secondly prehistoric archæology at the Anthropological Institute and Museum which, like the Oceanographic Museum, overlooks the sea and the beautiful Gardens of St Martin at Monaco: thirdly the written and printed evidence bearing on modern history now carefully stored and catalogued in the Archives of the Palace and placed under the scholarly control of Monsieur L. H. Laborde, chief archivist.

In attempting to summarise history the abundance of materials is, however, of more encumbrance than assistance; nor does the fact that the Principality is a small place shorten the length of its history. There are as many days in the Monegasque calendar as in that of any other country. Indeed, the history of Monaco is in part the history of France, of Spain, of Italy and sometimes England. Its princes, who were related to the kings and princes of these countries, intrigued at the different courts and became the heroes of love adventures, notably at the courts of Versailles and of St James. Fortunately in the difficult task of abbreviating and even of omitting altogether many portions of this history there is the authority of Lenthéric for skipping

over no less than five centuries. "La Provence Maritime, Ancienne et Moderne," by Charles Lenthéric, is a learned and fascinating description or history of the natural development of the French Riviera. In his opinion positive reliable history relating to this part of the world does not begin before the sixth century. Out of the impenetrable chaos of confused legends no facts stand forth that can supply the elements of a serious discussion. All we know is that certain peoples lived here and certain other peoples periodically overran the country without actually settling and forming permanent colonies. There seems to have been a hinterland with a permanent—or, in any case, a comparatively stable—population; and an ever-recurrent flow of traders or invaders visiting or attacking the coast-line. If this was not inscribed in history it could be deduced as a reasonable probability arising from the geographical conformation of the country. The more recent hinterland populations were of Aryan origin, consisting of Celts, otherwise called Gauls.

Before the advent of the Gaul, however, a still older race peopled the land stretching from the mouths of the Rhone to the further limits of Etruria. They were a much lower race, though hardy warriors; small of stature but strong, active and brave. Not much is known about them, they left neither monuments nor literature, but they survived many an invasion, notably that of the Phœnician fleets. Indeed, the overcoming of this resistance has been by some regarded as having given rise to the Heraklean legends. Such myths are often more important than the bare facts of history. Whether a certain chief governed a certain tribe for a long or a short time during the first or second century matters very little to us to-day; the further we go back the less the chronology of generals or chiefs seems to affect us. What is of interest, and still of importance, for it continues to influence our daily life, is the flow and ebb of races and peoples bringing with them certain customs and beliefs, unconsciously embodying conceptions of human and

cosmic relations. In this manner have the souls of peoples been moulded and modern nations are but the children of these ancient races. It is not because we are told such a tribe defeated another tribe on a given spot and on a particular day that we shall understand the dim trend of thought and aspiration which brought about the mental and material evolution out of which we ourselves are born. Contemplating history in this manner, the myths representing the ideals and veiling the truth in the fantasy of a symbolic fable are often more fruitful and instructive than the poor and unreliable records called early history. The adventures of the gods, related as of a time when gods and men lived in close communion with each other, constitute a dramatisation that presents us with an unconsciously personated manifestation of forces arising out of economic necessity. Therefore movements of tribes and peoples striving for better conditions of life appear as the arbitrary actions of individual heroes, their eponymous ancestors, subsequently deified or at least raised to the position of superhuman "heroes."

Thus, but a short time ago, for the greatest fête and pageant ever given in the Principality, it was not a page of history the organisers invoked. The largest and also the most distinguished crowd ever assembled on the rocks and shores of the old port came to see the personification of the sun-god Herakles wage battle with the powers of darkness; and, triumphant, install in Monaco the arts and sciences, while conferring the gift of perpetual spring. As Apollo, the sun-god, with the aid of the Muses, represents music and the arts, which are generously subsidised and encouraged in the Principality, so the Roman Hercules also was associated in Italy with the Muses. On those occasions Hercules was named Musagetes, and pictured holding a lyre. This interpretation, however, was purely Roman; there was no trace of it in Greece. To-day the muscular strength Herakles personified is superseded by the much greater force acquired through the scientific control of the elements

of nature. It is this modernised conception of strength that is studied by the government of the Principality. In deciding problems of local administration the teaching of science is more and more closely observed, and it may thus be said that by utilising the force science confers Hercules is still honoured.

It is not, however, the Grecian Herakles or the Roman Hercules who is specially connected with Monaco. The most brilliant of all public rejoicings was held in April 1910 to celebrate the inauguration of the Oceanographic Museum. The chapter dealing with this unique institution will describe the water festival. For the moment it suffices to state that this aquatic spectacle recalled the old legend according to which Monaco was founded sixteen or seventeen hundred years before the Christian era by the Phœnician Melkarth, or sun-god, born of Baal and Astarte, who were recognised at Tyre and Sidon as the father and mother of all things. Dupuis, in his great work "L'Origine de Tous les Cultes" and other eighteenth-century authorities, interpreted myths in an astronomical sense which, if considerably modified by more modern research, is not even to-day entirely superseded. According to this school man had no sooner given a soul to the world and an intelligence guiding and vivifying the various forces of nature than these were promptly represented in poems and chants as living personalities. The sun as the redeemer from the evils of winter appears to us embodied in different legends under the names of Hercules, Bacchus, Osiris, Helios, Jason, etc., etc.; in all these myths there is a similar conception differently expressed. With Herakles the myth represented strength, primarily solar strength, then human endeavour travailing and struggling for the accomplishment of a given task. This harmonises very accurately with the legendary twelve labours of Hercules piously and fittingly painted in the galleries that surround the Court of Honour of the palace of Monaco.

The legend is sometimes appropriated bodily by a

people who flatter themselves into the belief that the life history of the god as their eponymous ancestor is the history of their nation. Thus it was not the Phœnicians who came to Monaco; it was Herakles, or Melkarth, Menouakh as they entitled their principal god. The latter word, according to l'Abbé Burgès ("Antiquitates Grecæ," v., p. 2831), means that which gives asylum or rest, and this is certainly applicable to a natural harbour such as the port at Monaco. The Greeks, the Abbé maintains, erroneously interpreted the term as signifying sole occupant or inhabitant; but certainly in the temples built to Herakles no other god was worshipped. Thus we come to the *Portus Heraklis Monœki* where the Phœnicians raised a temple in which Melkarth was alone to be worshipped as the god of strength, the symbol of the sun, that dissipates darkness, gives light, life, harvest, fruit, sweetness, health and increase. According to one version the word Monaco was connected with a form of monotheism, and according to another authority with the sense of hospitality, of rest and security that a good harbour offers to the weary mariner. It may be argued that there is not much in a name, especially in this case, for, according to Varro, Hercules rejoiced in no fewer than forty-four *aliases*. On the other hand these forty-four Herculeses all achieved similar exploits, whether it was Hercules at Gabez or Samson at Gaza. For the most part they killed lions and procured golden apples.

It would be interesting to know during which of his twelve labours Monaco was discovered by its titular god. The legend says he conferred eternal spring on this favoured spot; a poetical conceit, confirmed, in a measure, by the springlike climate that prevails there during the winter. The probabilities are that Herakles would be described as passing by Monaco while coasting the Mediterranean on his way to the Gardens of the Hesperides, for they were alleged to be near Mount Atlas and to the extreme west. But all along the Riviera people claim that the golden apples were none other than the oranges they

grew in their gardens. Ignoring the sweet and large oranges of Jaffa, and other places close to Tyre, they imagine that the sour oranges of the French Riviera were the first and nearest that would be found by travellers coming from Tyre or Sidon. Thus the islands close to Toulon are called *Les Iles d'Or*, because the inhabitants thought that Herakles must have found the golden apples or oranges in this neighbourhood. At the winter station of Hyères, facing these islands, the first hotels built adopted names in keeping with this tradition. There were the *Hotel des Iles d'Or* and the *Hotel des Hesperides*. Other places along the Riviera, notably the islands opposite Cannes, also claim to have provided Herakles with the golden apples he needed. Monaco alone, however, was named after Herakles and known in history as the *Portus Heraklis Monœki* or *Portus Herculis Monœci*. But the reader may inquire was it when pursuing Geryon or when seeking for golden apples that he paused at Monaco? On this point the myth is silent.

To-day the zodiacal sign *Leo* means the end of July and the first twenty-two days of August. If the year of Melkarth began in *Leo*, the sun has precessed through five signs since that time, so that all this must have happened some thirteen thousand years ago. Without attempting the lengthy task of describing the twelve labours of Hercules, we may take the twelfth as an example, particularly as it deals with the golden apples said to have been found on the Riviera. Dupuis, in the manner of his day, summarises the fable and compares it with the astronomical reality. It may also be noted that after his ascension into heaven, in a cloud of glory, Herakles is stated to have wedded Hebe, or eternal spring; a detail, a later poetical version of the myth, which may have inspired the idea of associating the springlike climate of Monaco with this legend.

Thus explained, these legends lose none of their poetical value, though they have acquired a scientific interest. When armed with this knowledge, we shall see how

appropriate are the frescoes depicting the labours of Hercules painted round the gallery of the Court of Honour in the palace of Monaco. They give the principal legend out of which Monaco has grown. Herakles, having secured the golden apples of Hesperides, is made immortal and marries Hebe, or eternal spring. Remembering that the gardens of the principality are worthy of comparison with the Gardens of the Hesperides, it is equally easy to admit that golden apples have been discovered. In this modern version of the classic abode where the dragon and the three nymphs known as the Hesperides were set to guard the golden apples Juno gave to Jupiter, the nymphs are to-day more numerous. The dragon still guards the golden apples and it requires the strength of Herakles to snatch any of them away. But Herakles does not represent the foreigners who come and get into trouble with the nymphs or are devoured by the dragon. He is the titular god of Monaco; he killed the dragon and took the apples.

Again it must also be borne in mind that Herakles, as already mentioned, was united to the spring, to Hebe, who was fair and always in the bloom of youth. She was cupbearer to the gods, and could restore men to the vigour of youth. Hebe was well suited to accompany the sun-god, the god of strength, the giver of life and light, who nevertheless is defeated annually and has to descend to the underworld, there to be born again and rise triumphantly in the springtime. Though this endless battle between Ormuz and Ahriman, between Osiris and Typhon, between Good and Evil, between Summer and Winter, is waged in all parts of the world, there is scarcely another spot where the fruits of the sun's victory are more superbly displayed than on the Riviera, and especially at Monaco. Well may the titular god of even such a travelled people as the Phœnicians have paused before this entrancing panorama, this amphitheatre of majestic mountains sheltering the subtropical vegetation and the general abundance of fruit and flowers that encircles

the port Melkarth was supposed to make his own.

This assuredly was the moment for a miracle. Rarely had the benefits the sun confers, the beauty it creates, been so harmoniously manifested. Nature, like the faithful in the days of credulity, seemed to cry out for a miracle. But early man had not as yet begun to draw the distinction between the miraculous and the natural. At a later stage the longing for the miraculous is the incentive to great works; and, after all, how small are the miracles in the legends of the past compared with the every-day feats of modern science.

Herakles performed his deed of might, and this deed is equal to the greatest, for it renders, and will continue to render, inestimable service to countless millions of beings. The great sun-god was indignant to think that the accumulation of his best achievements clustering together at Monaco was to be injured or destroyed by his old adversary the Evil One, the Winter, the constellation of the Serpent that to-day holds the sun captive during the months of November, December and January. Therefore the Herakles known as Melkarth or Herakles Monoëkos raised his mighty arms and bent nature to his will.

Needless to say no gods break their own laws. A miracle has been well defined as the overthrowing of a general and well-known law of nature by applying another natural law that is not so well known. According to the usual and better-known law governing countries situated in about the 43rd degree of latitude they should experience such severe winters that they cannot grow tropical vegetation. It is necessary, generally speaking, to go a good distance south of Monaco, to Andalusia in Spain, for instance, to cultivate the lemon and the orange or plant palm-trees in the open. But Herakles performed the miracle; he bestowed on Monaco perpetual spring. The winter months provide springlike weather, and the summer is cooler in Monaco than in other countries of the same latitude. Thus, comparatively speaking, springlike

weather prevails all the year round. The miracle, if we may call it a miracle, was achieved. The general law regulating the correspondence between latitude and climate was overthrown by applying another law that cannot be often brought to bear, the law of shelter and reflection. The shelter from cold northerly winds is afforded by the Maritime Alps, and what but the strength of Hercules could have so raised the earth as to form this lofty and mighty range of mountains? Attracted to the Alps the rainclouds leave the sky at Monaco undisturbed and the sun, without interruption, pours his heat rays on the limestone of the mountains. Here the warmth is stored and then reflected on the principality even after the sun has set. On the other hand the fact that the greater part of the principality, though close to the cold waters of the sea, is 300 feet and more above the shore, produces a cool refreshing movement of the air which mitigates the heat of the summer. In this manner is Monaco blessed by the sun-god, who personified the renowned mariners of Tyre. Since then, and from all quarters of the world, people have come to this privileged spot to enjoy the climate and wait till Hebe restored their impaired youthfulness. It may therefore be said that unto this very day are the old sun-god and his youthful bride worshipped at Monaco. While the foreigners enjoy the climate, the natives gather the golden apples that grow more and more plentifully in this modern Garden of Hesperides; but they devote part of the proceeds to advance the arts and sciences the sun-god has ever favoured.

Another myth that plays an important part in the story of Monaco is the story of St Dévote. This legend has been well preserved, for it is told with differences that only affect matters of detail. It may be related briefly or at length, the main facts remain the same. But, like Herakles, St Dévote does not belong exclusively to Monaco. The saint has also her chapel and votaries in Corsica. Thus when in 1747 a revolt broke out in that island, its chief leader, Paolo, instituted an order of knighthood and

thought he could not better reward those who had served him than by conferring on them the title of *Chevalier de Sainte Dévote*. From this example, set by his fellow-countryman, Napoleon is said to have derived the idea of creating the Order of the Legion of Honour.

Perhaps the most complete account and most easily accessible will be found in the *Acta Sanctorium, Jannuarrii*, t. 2, pp. 770 and 771, of the *Ex Chronologia Lerinensi*. Without reproducing this document in full it may be briefly stated that in the time of the Emperor Diocletian and Maximian a pious Christian girl living in Corsica took refuge in the house of a senator named Euticus to escape from persecution. This was St Dévote. She is described as passing an ascetic and contemplative life, fasting on all days but Sunday and inflicting severe bodily punishment on herself. In vain did Euticus endeavour to dissuade her from such austerity. St Dévote replied: "I do not ill treat my body; on the contrary, I indulge in diverse delights, because God in heaven surfeits me every day with his gifts and his goodness": and Euticus, we are further told, dared not persist because he was unable to face the radiance of her visage. Then follows the story of the arrival of the wicked prefect sent from Rome to persecute the Christians.

Euticus invited the prefect to dinner, and while he was at table someone informed the prefect that a young girl who despised the gods was concealed in the house. As, however, the senator refused to give her up, the prefect caused him to be secretly poisoned. St Dévote was then seized and called upon to sacrifice to the gods. When she refused a stone was dashed upon her mouth, to prevent her from blaspheming against the gods. Then her feet were tied together and she was dragged, naked, by a horse over rough stones. In the midst of her suffering she cried out: "Lord, hear thy servant's prayer, and number among the elect Euticus, who has been killed on my account by the barbarous prefect." Thereupon a voice was heard from heaven saying, "My

daughter, thy prayer is granted and all that thou demandest thou shalt obtain," upon which a dove came out of her mouth and flew to the skies. The prefect wished to burn her body on the morrow so that it should not go to heaven, but during the night the priest Benenatus, from Savoy, and the deacon Apollinaris (who had been hiding in a cave), having been warned by a vision, carried the body to the boat of the mariner Gratien. They started for the coast of Africa, but a fearful storm blew them towards Europe. The exhausted Gratien fell asleep. St Dévote then appeared to Benenatus and told him that the storm would soon be over, that a dove would come from the mouth of her body, and the boat must follow the dove till they reached a place the Greeks named Monacho and the Latins Singulare: there, in a valley called Gaumates, the remains were to be buried. This was all fulfilled, and the burial took place on the 27th of January, presumably of the year 304.

There are, as has been said, other versions of the story. According to one of these the ship was completely wrecked and all on board were drowned. The body of St Dévote floated about on a plank till it reached the port of Hercules. Here it was found that someone had thoughtfully written on the plank full explanations and instructions, so that the saint was duly buried in the vale —or, as it would be more correct to say, the gorge—of the Gaumates. The details of the various versions vary. According to some accounts, St Dévote was only sixteen years old and very beautiful. Her protector Euticus was poisoned by the prefect's cook, sent for that purpose, and the poison consisted of herbs with which the cook pretended to flavour an eel-pie. This he did so skilfully that Euticus died rapidly and without difficulty. Many details are given concerning the martyrdom of the saint. According to one story she was to have been crucified but died in time to escape this last torture. Where the story is weak is in respect to what happened after the body had

reached the shore at Monaco. It is rather disconcerting to find that what was apparently the first church built on the spot where the saint is supposed to have been buried was dedicated to St George, who, it seems, took not only England but also Genoa under his patronage.

All that we know on which positive reliance may be placed is that there are extant title-deeds concerning Monaco which were drawn up in the eleventh century, and these mention the existence of an oratory in the ravine of the Gaumates which was a dependence of the Abbey of Saint-Pons at Nice. But this is seven hundred years after the martyrdom is supposed to have taken place. We do know, however, that the Abbey of Saint-Pons belonged to the Order of St Benoit and that this order did at some time or other propagate the cult of St Dévote. The ruling princes of Monaco also supported this worship and agreed that St Dévote should be the patron saint of the principality. Finally the popes gave their approval. In the well-stocked archives of Monaco several pontifical bulls are to be found on this subject. There is one dated 1475 from Sixtus IV., and another from Benoit XIII. of 1725, granting a two years' indulgence to the faithful who observe St Dévote's *fête* day and contribute to the restoration of her chapel.

Though many centuries elapsed before the virtues of this saint and martyr were recognised, it is not surprising that with the aid of the august patronage ultimately forthcoming, St Dévote finally gained great ascendancy over the minds of the Monegasques. In the course of time, therefore, St Dévote became the object of ardent worship, and the faith now firmly established had a sufficient hold on susceptible minds to suggest apparitions and miracles. In 1070 a pirate named Antinope having anchored within the port, succeeded during the night in forcing the doors of the chapel, and stealing the reliquary containing the remains of St Dévote. Next day, however, it was noticed that, though the wind was favourable, Antinope was unable to manœuvre his boat so as to quit

the harbour. This awakened suspicion. The theft had been discovered, and it was thought that the saint was thus endeavouring to indicate the thief. Boats were sent out. Antinope was captured and the relics recovered. He was brought before the Italian Prince Hugo, who contented himself with having his nose and ears cut off and then allowed him to return to his boat.

This incident accounts for the fact that the relics were removed to the Church of St Nicholas, up at Monaco, where there is the protection of the fortifications that surround the old town. But every year on the 27th of January these relics are brought down to the Vale of the Gaumates. There is a grand procession, and when the priests arrive at the Condamine, and in front of the chapel dedicated to St Dévote, they turn towards the port and bless the sea and the ships with her relics. In the evening a bonfire is lit by the captain of the port and is answered by another bonfire at Monaco in front of the palace. Monaco, itself, however, has been frequently besieged and sometimes captured. The most important of these sieges began in December 1506 and lasted 102 days. On that occasion the town was attacked by the Genoese, and, according to an old tradition, would certainly have fallen if St Dévote had not appeared to the besiegers wrapped in a cloud. This awe-inspiring vision disheartened the Genoese and they raised the siege. Later, in 1585, a small body of Corsican and French soldiers attempted to surprise the garrison, a Corsican living in Monaco having undertaken to help in betraying the town. With ladders and some petards the audacious invaders, though numbering only 150 fighting men, attempted to storm one of the outer gates. They failed, however, to blow up the gate with their petards, and a few shots, followed by a shower of stones from the walls, sent the small band of adventurers flying for their lives. This, however, is only the dry version given by historians, who are so very unsympathetic as to require proofs or evidence before recording popular beliefs as if they were facts. The reason of course why

this assault failed was the intervention of St Dévote. What could be more plausible than that the saint should appear on the walls of Monaco and reprove the Corsicans for attacking a town where the relics of their own Corsican saint and martyr were so carefully guarded and cherished. Such a reproach would be irresistible, and well may the assailants have desisted and hastened back to their ships.

By such stories and traditions is the impression created that Monaco was brought into being by Melkarth, the Herakles of the Phœnicians, and preserved as an independent state for many centuries by its patroness St Dévote. The question might then be put whether there is not with regard to the St Dévote legend a rational explanation such as that I have just given with respect to Herakles. It would indeed be strange if it were not so; but while no one still desires to believe Herakles really did exist, killed a real lion, swept out a real stable, and picked genuine golden apples, there are many people whose feelings would be hurt if they were undeceived with regard to the dove issuing from St Dévote's mouth.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HISTORY OF MONACO

DURING the first year of the forty-fifth Olympiad —that is, about six hundred years before the Christian era—a tribe was making merry in a sheltered bay of Southern Gaul. Their chief, named Nann, was about to give his daughter Gyptis in marriage when a Phocian galley approached the shore. The strangers were invited to land and participate in the rejoicings. Toward the end of the feast the chief, giving a cup to his daughter, ordered her to present the wine it contained to the man present whom she would select to wed. It so happened that the captain of the Phocian galley was tall, handsome, distinguished, and the chieftain's young daughter offered him the matrimonial cup. Some say his name was Protis; others, Euxenes: in any case the Ligurians gave him sufficient land for building a town. Massalia, or Marseilles, thus came into existence. To this day the inhabitants of Marseilles boast that they are descended from the Phocians.

Before this happy event we know that Ligurians, hailing from the banks of the Danube, invaded the north of Italy; and, travelling along the narrow shores from what is now Genoa to Marseilles, encountered other invaders—the Iberians coming from Spain and travelling in the contrary direction. The Ligurians seem to have been a little more civilised than the Iberians: at any rate the latter were early driven away. At all events the Ligurians knew how to cultivate grain. They had some sort of tribal organisation and possessed better weapons. The Phocians who had reached Marseilles just in time for

the wedding feast came from Phocæa, a maritime town of Ionia, between Cumæ and Smyrna, where the Athenians had founded a colony. They therefore represented a much higher degree of civilisation; but, if they found the Ligurians a somewhat barbarous people, they were greatly impressed by the natural advantages of the gulfs formed by the estuary of the Rhone. Here was an opportunity of exchanging the merchandise of the East for the agricultural produce of the Rhone Valley. To increase the value of the latter, the Phocians brought olives, vines, seeds of all sorts, better weapons and better clothes. They planted vineyards and fig-trees. The Celtic hovels and mud walls made room for Greek temples and Corinthian façades. Nevertheless the Phocians were not the first civilised people to trade with and colonise these shores.

The Phœnicians [1]—the palm-tree people—are stated to have founded colonies even beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and this some eleven or twelve hundred years before our era. They it was who named the mountains on each side of the Straits of Gibraltar the Pillars of Hercules, and whose history, we have seen, is the basis on which rests the myth of Melkarth or Herakles, the Phœnician Hercules. The Phœnicians not only preceded the Phocians by many hundred years, but their road from Tyre and Sidon was not via Marseilles. They preferred to travel via Monaco, consequently named the Port of Hercules. Here it was that the Phœnician ships, easily recognisable by the horse's head at the prow and the fish's tail at the stern, first touched the shore. A thousand years and more before the dove guided St Dévote's little bark to this spot, the Phœnicians had also landed in the Condamine under the shelter of Monaco on one side and Monte Carlo on the other. How long the Phœnicians remained, when precisely they first arrived, antiquaries and historians must be left to discuss. It may suffice for present

[1] *Phoinix*: Greek for phœnix and for palm-tree. *Phœnic* has become the generic name for palm-trees; thus *phœnic dactylifera* is the date-palm.

purposes to record that they colonised this part of the world for several centuries. Their rivals the Phocians were known to history only about 800 B.C.; but they early acquired a good reputation as able navigators, keen tradesmen. They were, withal, a noisy, merry people, characteristics still to be found at Marseilles and in Provence. *Fen de brut*—Provençal for "make a noise"—as "Tartarin de Tarascon" shows us, is still a joy in itself.

After the downfall of Tyre in 574 B.C.—wrought by the Persians under Cyrus—its principal colony, Carthage, inherited the western possessions of the Phœnicians. This gave a superiority to Carthage which was not approved by the Phocian element then predominating at Marseilles. A maritime war ensued between the rival ports, by that time a number of havens and strongholds had been created along the coast, such as *Athenopolis*, *Antipolis*, or Antibes, *Nicœa*, or Nice, but *Monœces*, or Monaco, was among the most ancient and the most important. True to its pure Phœnician origin, Monaco took sides with Carthage against Marseilles, and to this day there is an occasional revival of the ancient antagonism. Monaco occasionally served as a basis for the operations of the Carthaginian fleet; and to-day the people of Marseilles have not ceased watching lest Monaco, as an independent principality, should use its port to the disadvantage of Marseilles trade.

When the Phœnicians associated Monaco with their great divinity Melkarth, or Herakles, they meant the whole mass of the mountains which shelter the coast, and which only a giant of strength, a Hercules, could have surmounted or conquered. It is generally believed that a temple was raised to the Phœnician Hercules and built on the rock where the old town of Monaco now stands, probably on the site of the present cathedral. But others think the temple stood on the Moneghette height, farther inland and behind the rock of Monaco town. On the site of the present town no Phœnician remains have been found. The

earliest traces of human efforts to build were discovered farther inland and higher up; and these are prehistoric, for they belong to the time when the use of mortar and plaster had not been discovered. The nearest is the *castrum* in the Castelleretto quarter, near the Ophthalmic Institute, founded by the Princess Alice; though, of late, the cutting of quarries has largely destroyed the site where stones were piled together to form a castle. Better remains of this description are to be seen away up toward the highest point dominating the coasts. On the summit of Mount Agel there is a levelled plateau that suggests the ground on which a sanctuary stood. Probably there was also an entrenched camp. A sixteenth-century map, drawn during the Spanish occupation, speaks of *las muras*, the walls. Behind Mount Agel, as a defence of the pass or road from Turbie to Peille, there are some well-preserved remains called *Lou Castéu*. Here the wall in some parts is still about sixteen feet high, though built only by fitting stones one on the other. There was no cement, mortar or plaster in those days. Probably several temples were raised in honour of Hercules in these fortified positions. Strabo says a temple was built at the port itself: though no sign of it remains here there are traces elsewhere.

Nothing precise is known as to what happened at Monaco when the power of Carthage was on the wane. There can be no doubt, however, that the people of Marseilles clung tenaciously to the great Heraklean road the Phœnicians had constructed. For many centuries it supplied the life-blood of the whole coast. Many authors mention this lengthy road and describe how it bore most of the traffic from Italy to Spain. When, after the Second Punic War, the Romans conquered Spain, Marseilles was brought into close contact with Rome. Perhaps it was because the Heraklean road was so good that the Romans expanded their road-building faculties in other less favoured directions. But the turbulent Ligurians who remained of the aboriginal stock showed atavistic tendencies. Though the civilisation brought from Tyre

and Sidon had predominated from 1000 to 600 or 500 B.C., and was then reinforced by Grecian civilisation, coming from the Grecian islands in the wake of the Phocians, the Ligurians still indulged in occasional brigandage. The Roman influence was now substituting itself for that of the Greeks, but does not seem to have been altogether welcome. Livy relates that in 189 B.C. the Prætor L. Bœbius when travelling to Spain was attacked by Ligurians and died from his wounds at Marseilles. A similar fate befell the Prætor Fabius in 173 B.C. Consul A. Opimius, therefore, headed a punitive expedition and inflicted heavy losses on the Ligurians near Antibes.

After this lesson, the Heraklean road once more became secure and useful. It was frequented by many Roman legions going to and from Spain. They marched from Italy to Monaco and there embarked in galleys. History mentions the arrival at Monaco of many Roman generals, and the port became an important strategical position on the Italian frontier. Julius Cæsar himself, at the beginning of the civil war, came to Monaco from Gaul, and there embarked on the vessel that took him to fight Pompey. On this occasion the Ligurians enrolled themselves under Cæsar, though they were ever ready to fight against the Romans when the latter became oppressive. Indeed, they were not thoroughly subjected till the year 7 B.C., when Augustus Cæsar won the great victory commemorated to this day by the imposing though ruined monument at La Turbie. This Augustan trophy, raised high on the *Alpe Summa* or *Alpe Maritima*, stands on the limit of Italy and ancient Gaul. It was built by order of the Roman Senate as a mark of gratitude for the decisive victory won over the Gauls. This work was begun in the year 758 of Rome. Stone quarries were opened for the purpose, and quarrying has continued as a local industry to this day. Prisoners of war were forced by the Roman soldiers to cut stones from the side of the Mountain of Battles, as the Turbie is sometimes called. It was thought advisable to erect a

monument of such dimensions as would thoroughly impress the semi-barbarous native populations. A firm square basis was first constructed, and this served as a pedestal for a lofty tower. Superimposed columns ornamented and surrounded the tower. Between each column was a niche to hold the effigy of a Roman officer or other celebrity, and on the summit stood a gigantic statue of Augustus Cæsar. To judge from the size of the head, discovered in 1585 by Father Boyer, whose MS. description still exists in the Lérins Library, the statue must have been about twenty-two feet high.

This ostentation and pride of conquest lasted but a day. The very populations whose defeat was thus recorded in stone swept by this very spot on their victorious march to Rome. They might have revenged themselves by destroying the monument, but this was left for vandals of a much more recent date. Meanwhile the name of the proud Roman trophy degenerated as the power of the Roman Empire declined. From *Trophi Augusti* we have *Torpea* or *Torpia*, and finally the modern village and commune of La Turbie.

Under the Cæsars, Monaco became a very important place and the Roman jewellery found shows that it was inhabited by influential and wealthy Romans. A remarkable collection of this jewellery is at present to be seen at the Anthropological Museum in Monaco town.

The Roman Emperor Pertinax was born between Nice and Monaco. In early life he was a charcoal-maker, but when he enlisted in the Roman army he distinguished himself first in Syria, then in Britain, defeating the Caledonians. In reward for his services Marcus Aurelius raised him to the Senate, and at the death of Commodus he was proclaimed Emperor. The charcoal-burner who hailed from Monaco and Nice became a most estimable ruler, both modest and humane.

During the civil war that followed the death, in 69, of Nero, the rival claimants for the imperial purple, Otho and Vitellius, met in battle near Monaco. Otho won

three battles. Nevertheless he is credited with having nobly put an end to his own life rather than continue such bloodshed to secure his personal promotion. Unfortunately, Vitellius, for whose benefit this sacrifice was made, proved unworthy of it. He led so degraded a life that he was dragged to the Gemonian stairs by his own soldiers and thrown to die among the carcasses of criminals. Roman soldiers were sometimes apt to treat the chief of the state with but scant courtesy.

According to some authorities, Christianity was first preached on the Riviera by St Barnabas, who had worked with St Paul. Others attribute the conversion of the Ligurians to St Nazaire and St Celsius. In any case, they were both arrested at Vintimille and martyred at Rome in the time of Nero. On the other hand, the Jews are said to have placed Mary Magdalene, Salome, Lazarus and Joseph of Arimathea in a boat from which the rudder was removed. Thus left helpless on the waves, the wind took them over to the Riviera, and the River Magnum is named after the Magdalene. Nevertheless but scant details are forthcoming concerning the early propaganda of Christianity till we reach the story of St Dévote, to which the date of A.D. 304 is given. The downfall of the Roman Empire and the spread of Christianity were accompanied by the destruction of much evidence that might have served to constitute history. As little care was bestowed on recording current events as in preserving the history of the past. Hence for several centuries it is almost impossible to say what happened.

The wild hordes that followed the Gauls into Italy passed through or near Monaco. The Vandals, the Goths, the Suabians, the Burgundians and others did not fail to ravage Liguria on their road to Rome.

It was not till a pagan once more occupied the imperial throne that the name of Rome was again respected. The victories of Belisarius, the general sent by the Emperor Justitian, restored order on the coast-line, where Monaco was losing all its former importance and prosperity. Un-

fortunately this order was maintained only for a few years.

Now came another race of tormentors, the Lombards, from the valleys of the Drave and the Save. They had already begun to occupy those northern provinces of Italy which are now called Lombardy. Other Lombards came from North Germany, from *Lange Börde*, a fertile plain by the Elbe. But the Italians translated the name into *Langobardi*, *longues barbes*, longbeards, aud finally Lombards. From Italy the Lombards naturally passed over the Maritime Alps, sacked Nice and utterly wiped out Cimiez. Soon, however, a new power arose, this time in the west. The *rois fainéants*, or "idle kings," of the Franks, whose names historians hardly like to drag forth from a well-merited oblivion, entrusted the cares of government to a functionary called the Mayor of the Palace. The most celebrated of these rulers was Charles Martel, so named after the word *marteau*, or hammer. He had hammered down his enemies, and notably the Saracen invaders of the south of France. At the same time a celebrated Pope, Gregory I., was busy quarrelling with the Lombards, for they had rendered themselves very unpopular in Italy. To obtain help, the Pope offered to make Pépin, the son of Charles Martel, King of the Franks. This was the beginning. The work continued when Pépin was recognised as the first Carlovingian king of the Franks and only concluded when Charlemagne, Charles Martel's grandson, definitely destroyed Lombard rule. Charlemagne was then proclaimed King of the Lombards and the Franks. This was in 774, and six years later Charlemagne became Emperor of the Romans, thus attempting to reconstitute the Roman Empire of the Cæsars. In this manner did the Riviera come under his rule, and it was Charlemagne who, out of the ruins of Cimiez and its ancient dioceses, founded the Abbey of Saint-Pons, just above Nice. This abbey has remained one of the most important ecclesiastical institutions in the neighbourhood of Monaco.

During the glorious reign of this great conqueror, organiser and administrator, numerous war galleys had been built. These Charlemagne employed to drive the Danes away in the north, and the Saracens in the south. The Riviera had been more or less exposed to Mussulman iucursions since 729. It was necessary to institute a system of fire signals at night and smoke signals in the day along the entire coast. Traces of the towers then built and of rusty fire-grids are still to be found on prominent heights commanding the coasts. Those signals, however, did not prevent the sacking of Nice and of many other towns on the coasts, the Saracens and Moors carrying off all the women they could find to people their harems. On the other hand, some of these landing parties occasionally came to grief and were themselves captured. At first employed as slaves, they ultimately assimilated with the native population of the Riviera, among whom to this day very evident traces of Moorish blood may easily be detected.

With the reign of Charlemagne there came a period of peace, and even the Saracens were kept at a respectful distance. But the great emperor died in 814, and his empire was divided up in 843. His various successors soon quarrelled among themselves or were attacked by other pretenders. This gave the Saracens their chance, and they did not fail to return to the Riviera, where they once more sacked towns and plundered on all sides. The mountains west of the Esterelle, reaching as far as Toulon, are still called the Moor or *Maures* mountains. The principal Moorish strongholds were at Fraxinet, overlooking St Tropez, and the peninsula of St Hospice, sheltering one side of Villefranche harbour. The latter port communicated with a fort perched on the lofty pinnacle of Eze. The Saracens had also a fortress at the top of Mount Agel, above Cap Martin. Thus Monaco was hedged in. For more than a hundred years it would have been difficult to say whether the Christians or the Mussulmans were masters of the Riviera. It is true that in the year

963 the great Emperor Otho swore an oath that he would drive all the Moors away, but he died very soon after this rash resolve. It was not till 975 that a much more modest personage, Count William of Provence, really accomplished the task. The Moors at that time seem to have been masters of the whole coast-line from Monaco to St Tropez. William I., Viscount of Marseilles, Count of Arles and sovereign of a large part of Provence, set out against them. Izarn, Bishop of Grenoble, Boniface of Castellane, the Lords of Vintimille, and one Giballin Grimaldi joined their forces to his to wage war against the Moors. They soon achieved a great triumph by capturing the principal Moorish fortress at Fraxinet.

It is in connection with this memorable victory that some historians make the first mention of a Grimaldi. He was a Genoese patrician called Giballin Grimaldi. It is related that with a handful of devoted followers he climbed up a precipitous rock in the rear of the Fraxinet. Supposing such a feat impossible, the Moors had not attempted to defend that side of their position. Thus they were taken by surprise, and this diversion enabled the main force to deliver a successful frontal attack. As a reward for his courage and skill Grimaldi was given land in the immediate neighbourhood of his victory stretching from St Tropez to Fréjus. To this day it still preserves his name, for it is called the *Golfe de Grimaud*, while the *Grand Fraxinet* of the Moors is now known as the *Garde Fraisnet*.

This early and somewhat legendary chief seems to have been the Garibaldi of the epoch, for he was called upon to deliver the whole country from foreign oppression, and is credited with having driven the Moors out of Nice and the *Petit Fraxinet*, now St Honoré, at Villefranche. He was the second son of Grimaldi I., Lord of Antibes, who is reputed to have driven the Moors out of Monaco; some say in 920 others in 962 or 968. As a recompense for this victory the father of Giballin is said to have received the sovereignty of Monaco from the Emperor

Otho I. Thus the belief was widely entertained that, with but temporary interruptions, the Grimaldis have reigned at Monaco ever since 968. Here, then, we would have a dynasty older than the Norman Conquest of England and more ancient than any reigning family in Europe. If we turn to the older official annals of the principality, we shall find that the brief historical pedigree of the house of Grimaldi begins with Grimaldi I. in the year 968.

The modern and more scientific methods of writing history have destroyed this legend. The victory of Giballin at the *Grand Fraxinet* is not denied, but the proof that his father reigned at Monaco is not forthcoming. There was, however, a prominent Genoese family of the name of Grimaldi. Even modern historians, in spite of their sceptical and critical methods, recognise that an Otto Canella, an ancestor of the Grimaldis, was Consul of Genoa in the middle of the eleventh century. This third son, Grimaldo, was three times Consul from 1162 to 1184. He it was who definitely decided that Grimaldi should be the family name. Members of this family had on several occasions occupied Monaco, when they fought for the Guelfs, but it was as frequently recaptured by their adversaries.

The Genoese always recognised the strategical importance of the port of Monaco, and the Emperor Henry VI. conceded Monaco to the Genoese in 1191 on condition they built a fortress there so as to help him against the counts of Provence. Nevertheless twenty years elapsed before any attempt was made to erect this fortress. Between 1215 and 1239, when Frederic II. succeeded to the empire, Monaco was fortified. But it did not serve the emperor, for Frederic II. quarrelled with the Pope, a dispute which separated him from the Genoese, who now sought the alliance of the counts of Provence. Important consequences ensued, for the Genoese included in their conditions that the claims of Provence on Monaco should be abandoned. This they obtained from Raymond, Count of Toulouse and Provence, by the

Treaty of the 22nd July 1262. Thus it was half-a-century after its fortress had been built that the position of Monaco was definitely recognised by treaty. The fortress consisted of a castle dominating the land approaches, built where the Prince's Palace now stands. At the other extremity of the rock there was a second fortress overlooking and commanding the port, called the Château Neuf. A rampart united the two and the place was rendered the more unassailable by the fact that there was no road. A narrow steep path alone led from the port up to the castle.

The Republic of Genoa conferred on Monaco a commune similar to that of its other possessions. The commander of the castle was the chief of the commune. Sometimes there were two castles and two commanders. In that case the first was called *Podestà* and had judiciary authority. The second was called *Castellan*, and had only military authority. For administrative purposes all the inhabitants formed part of a general Parliament, but for detail work they elected a Council of ten members. This did not mean that the people in any way abdicated their right to legislate. There are records that in 1246 the people of Monaco, in Parliament assembled, discussed their relations with the neighbouring lords of La Turbie. It was then decided that those inhabitants of Monaco—Monegasques, as they are called—who held land on the estates of these lords must obey them, but that no Monegasque could be allowed to buy land at the Turbie unless special permission were given. This was the beginning of the quarrels that lasted for many centuries between Monaco and La Turbie, disputes which may yet be revived, though of course in a modern form. It will be seen that the early Monegasques enjoyed a large measure of home rule or self-government.

The time now approached when Monaco was to become a bone of contention between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. The former were driven out of Genoa in 1270. They reoccupied the town six years later, but

in 1296, after street fighting that lasted unceasingly for forty days and forty nights, were once more forced away from the town. The Ghibellines, again masters of Genoa, took possession of Monaco also. At that time the county of Provence had been incorporated into the kingdom of Charles II. of Anjou. This king claimed that his Provençal dominions included Monaco and Vintimille. The Guelfs when in power had been good allies of Charles d'Anjou, brother of St Louis, King of France; but when his son, Charles II., succeeded to the throne of Anjou, Provence and Sicily the new king was so anxious to preserve the support of the Genoese Republic that he turned against the old friends of his family, the defeated Guelfs. This ingratitude was not, however, agreeable to the inhabitants of the county of Nice. They allowed the Guelfs to prepare an audacious expedition. For this purpose they selected Franceschino or Francis Grimaldi as their chief, and he boldly offered his person to secure the success of the enterprise.

On the 8th of January 1297 a monk approached the gates of Monaco. Apparently the guards were not very observant for they should have noticed that the monk wore shoes or boots. But they did not think of such details; and, deceived by the saintly garb of peace, let the monk enter. No sooner was the gate open than the monk drew a sword from under his robes and, having taken the guards completely by surprise, was able, fighting desperately, to keep the gate open till his followers, concealed close by, came rushing up and poured into the town. The monk was Francis Grimaldi, and thus Monaco was captured by Guelf partisans and a member of the Grimaldi family. This explains the presence of monks with drawn swords defending the arms of the house of Grimaldi.

Though I am aware that all is fair in love and war, it does not seem to me, having read something of the history of the Grimaldi family, that this stratagem was one of their finest achievements. It is true that the

doctrines of peace and good will to all men, associated with the religion to which monks are supposed to devote their lives, were singularly neglected in these days. Nevertheless monks' robes were not originally designed to conceal swords carried with murderous intent. When, however, I confided these doubts and scruples to the learned archivist of the palace I found he was also well armed—with a ready reply:

"You have not noticed," he observed, "that the monks wear a sort of boot or shoe, and a monk who is not barefooted is a fighting monk. He is simply a soldier who is able to perform some priestly functions, and it is quite fair for a soldier to penetrate into a fortress by any stratagem he can devise."

Unfortunately some persons, ignoring this distinction, have drawn the monks barefooted, which is very wrong indeed. The morality of the story depends on the shoes. The proud Scotch saying: "My foot is on my native heath, and my name it is Macgregor," would therefore be translated into Monegasque as, "My foot is in my shoe: and my name is Grimaldi." The Macgregor plaid, formed by simple alternate squares of red and black, becomes in Monaco a plaid of alternate lozenges coloured red and white. In both cases it is the chieftain who stands, naked sword in hand, to secure for his tribe and for himself a name and a habitat.

Modern historians maintain this was the first occasion on which it can be proved that a Grimaldi was the master of Monaco. In any case a Grimaldi had taken the fortress at the point of the sword. No sooner were his followers in possession of the stronghold than it became a refuge for the remnants of the Guelf fleet. From this strategical position they were able to harass the Genoese fleet now in the hands of the Ghibellines. But Charles II. of Anjou and Provence, who had abandoned the Guelfs, permitted the Ghibellines to besiege Monaco. During this siege five galleys from Monaco attacked with remarkable dash and courage the port of Genoa. They were, however, out-

numbered, and the landing party captured. A sort of compromise peace followed. Some leading Guelfs were restored to their lands on condition that they paid tribute. But Charles II. had brought from the Guelfs the land they possessed at Monaco and handed it over to the Spinola family of Geneva, who were partisans of the Ghibellines. Though the Spinolas had no lordship rights over Monaco they thus became the largest landowners, and this made them powerful. Nevertheless Charles II. also watched over the Guelf interests, for he now began to understand that he should not have neglected those who had rendered such great service to his father. Thus old enemies were made to live side by side till hostilities were renewed and the leading families once more led their respective forces to war against each other.

It would require much time and space to describe the fluctuating fortunes of these combatants, but it is in no wise my purpose to write a detailed history of the Grimaldis and the rival families with whom they contended. Having explained how the Grimaldis established their claim on Monaco, I will limit this brief historical sketch, first, to occurrences that are of more than local importance; and secondly, as this book is written in the English language, to such events as especially concern English-speaking people. For a complete history of the principality, the reader may be referred to the histories, such as "Monaco et ses Princes," by Henri Métivier, of the older school of historians; and "Monaco, ses Origines et son Histoire," by Gustave Saige, representing the modern school. There are of course many others, and even a few English histories, not always, I fear, free from strong prejudices.

CHAPTER III

THE PRINCES OF MONACO IN THE WARS AGAINST ENGLAND

THERE is nothing to indicate that the earlier populations inhabiting the Riviera came by sea and were navigators. On the contrary, the geological evidence goes to show that there was a wide plain stretching in front of the mountains before the sea was reached. It is also supposed that a land connection existed with Northern Africa, and this may account for the negroid type of the Troglodyte skeletons found in the caverns at Mentone. But putting aside the aborigines, and no one can tell to what extent they have been obliterated, it is quite certain that the commencement of modern civilisation is due to the advent of essentially maritime peoples. First the Phœnicians, who brought enlightenment from Tyre and Sidon, and then the Phocians, with the glorious philosophy and art of ancient Greece. The one race utilised Monaco as its principal port, the other Marseilles. The first built and the second maintained the great Heraklean Way. Thus did they favour by land, as they had done by sea, intercourse between the East and the West, between the cradle of civilisation and the farthest confines of barbarism. In the neighbourhood of Monaco there exists traces of this road, now several thousand years old, and no thoughtful person can stand where so many peoples and armies have passed without feeling the deepest emotion. To endeavour to picture all the services rendered by the Heraklean road is to evoke the past of Western Europe since the beginning of history.

As the world's interest and enterprise spread out beyond the basin of the Mediterranean, the inhabitants,

especially of that part of the Riviera stretching from Nice to Genoa, began to feel cramped for want of space. Genoa especially, built on the side of arid mountains, seems as if nature had planned to throw the town into the sea. In front the sea has no boundary and places the whole world within reach of the hardy mariner, but behind are only inaccessible, steep and barren mountains. Even if the Genoese were not by birth a sailor race they would have been compelled by geographical and economic necessity to become sailors. While the Germans, the French, the English had still plenty of virgin soil to cultivate, industries to create and towns to build, the inhabitants of the Riviera could only expand seawards. It is not surprising, therefore, that they devoted themselves principally to maritime commerce. But if they started out to trade they came back having learned how to fight. Valuables could not be carried about with impunity. Under the pretext of a war, or frankly as an act of piracy, such merchandise, if not strongly protected, might be plundered. But land was also infested by robbers. In many cases it was safer to travel or to send merchandise by sea, and it was naturally to the Mediterranean that the peoples of the world looked for capable mariners. Prominent among these were the Genoese.

The Crusades more than any other event helped to develop the power and importance of the maritime people living in the north-west of the Mediterranean. The crusaders early learnt to mistrust the perfidious hospitality of the Byzantines, and in spite of storms and wrecks found it much safer to proceed to the Holy Land by sea. Therefore the various nations of Europe appealed, especially to the Genoese, for ships and for crews capable of taking their crusaders to Palestine. For their own trade purposes, the Genoese had already sailed as far as the Levant and knew the road. Among the Genoese we must include the Monegasques. Thus in 1104 a fleet of seventy galleys was fitted out at Genoa for Hugues, brother of Philippe I., King of France, and placed under the

command of Albert Grimaldi. Another Grimaldi commanded the fleet which conveyed to Egypt Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, and André II., King of Hungary, who were the chiefs of the Fifth Crusade. The capture of Damietta in 1219 was due in a large measure to the fleet acting under the command of a Grimaldi. Thus in the Hall of the Crusades at the palace of Versailles the arms of the Grimaldis occupy a place of honour.

In Europe such armaments as existed were organised for war on land. In England, France and Germany the feudal lords and noble families fought against each other on land and paid but little attention to naval matters. The experience acquired during the Crusades taught them to look to the Italian republics for ships, to Venice, to Pisa and especially to Genoa. Thus it was with mercenary sailors and foreign fleets that many of the earlier naval battles were fought. England, France and Germany very largely depended on the Italian republics for their battleships.

While Francis Grimaldi, in the guise of a monk, had succeeded in capturing the fortress of Monaco, another Grimaldi was rising to fame. This was Rainier, the son of Lanfranco, the eldest of the three sons of Grimaldo Grimaldi, who, it will be remembered, from 1162 to 1184 held thrice the position of Consul of Genoa, and had decided that henceforth Grimaldi should be the family name. Rainier Grimaldi was born in 1267, and already in 1296 had rendered great service to King Charles II. of Anjou. As a sailor he had so often defeated the Ghibelline galleys that his reputation spread far and wide. During that time Philippe IV., called *le Bel*, King of France, had started a campaign against England worthy of Napoleon. He conceived a policy of alliances for the purpose of blockading England. From Sicily to the far reaches of the Baltic, English trading vessels were to be excluded, and he hoped to relegate England to a state of isolation that would certainly have nothing glorious about it.

To a very large extent this policy was successfully applied, and the position of England was becoming desperate when King Edward I. discerned the weak point of the attack. The Continental blockade, by isolating England, was also destroying Flemish trade and prosperity. Therefore in 1297 King Edward I. was able to come to terms with Count Guy of Flanders. The Treaty of Bruges, then concluded, conferred on English and Flemish ships the monopoly of intercourse and trade between England and the Continent. Thereupon Calais and many French ports began to suffer. This led to war. In Flanders a sort of revolution was taking place in consequence of the wealth accumulated by the weavers, artisans, tradesmen, merchants and industrial classes generally. The old nobility were being gradually forced into a secondary position and it gave them very great offence. Profiting by this state of affairs, Philippe of France intrigued with the Flemish aristocracy and Edward of England flirted with the Flemish democracy. When the rival parties came to blows, in 1302, the Flemish people, led by a nobleman, a weaver and a butcher, gave the combined Flemish and French aristocrats a good sound beating at Courtray. This was the Battle of Spurs, for no fewer than two thousand golden spurs were taken from the defeated aristocrats. The difficulties caused by this and other defeats prompted the French king to seek help on all sides. Rainier Grimaldi, having already rendered great service to the French king, Charles of Anjou and Sicily, was now asked to serve the French king, Philippe.

Rainier Grimaldi accepted, and arrived off the coasts of France with sixteen armed galleys. To these the King of France added twenty vessels, imperfectly built and manned. Rainier at once set to work to teach the French sailors, and practised their 'prentice hands in the capture of a few English ships. After such comparatively easy exercises he started on the really serious business of encountering the Flemish fleet. The English in those days

were considered of little account, but the Dutch and Flemish were real sailors. It was in August 1304 that the great encounter took place off Zierikzee, at the mouth of the Ooster Schelde. With an inferior fleet, but superior seamanship, after prolonged desperate fighting, Rainier Grimaldi utterly defeated the Flemish, and took prisoner their chief, Guy de Dampierre. For this brilliant victory he was appointed Admiral General of France, and given the lordship of Villeneuve in Normandy.

A period of comparative peace ensued, interrupted by fights and alarms, in which, however, the Monegasques took no prominent part. At home, at Monaco and Genoa, during the beginning of the fourteenth century it was sometimes the Guelfs and Grimaldis and sometimes the Ghibellines, with the help of the Spinolas and the Dorias, who were the masters. When Admiral Rainier died, his son Charles, who had also greatly distinguished himself as a sea captain, assumed the uncontested headship of the Grimaldi family. In 1336 a Monegasque fleet set out on a remarkable expedition to the East, and captures were made off the coasts of Syria and Egypt, Venetian commerce being the objective. At last the Pope, Benoit XII., had to intervene, and called upon King Robert of Naples to keep the Monegasques in order. This event is especially worth noting because the King of Naples, who was also Lord of Provence, was obliged to admit that he held no jurisdiction and had no power over Monaco. Thus we get one of the first official records of the independence of Monaco.

At the same time the people of Genoa, wearied at last, revolted against the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. "A plague on both your houses!" became the popular cry, and an outsider, Boccanegra by name, was elected Doge. With him the Grimaldis had an easier time, and could afford to spare Charles Grimaldi, who had been called upon to assist the French in the opening of what proved to be the Hundred Years' War.

King Philippe VI. of France, by allying himself with

the Duke Louis of Flanders against his rebellious subjects, alienated the sympathies of an entire people; while King Edward III. of England showed no better judgment by waging war against a popular hero such as David Bruce and thus antagonising the Scottish people. Philippe of France, under the pretext of yet another Crusade, had obtained money and equipped a large fleet in the south; but instead of going to the Holy Land he sent it north, to help the Scots. However surprising to the modern Englishman, it appears that in those days, 1336, the English Government had an excellently organised Intelligence Department. They were so well and promptly informed of these plans that they forestalled and frustrated the French attempt to help the Scots. But if they could not effect a landing in Scotland, the south of England was open to them. Instead of guarding the coasts, English sailors from Yarmouth were fighting and quarrelling with their compatriots from the Cinq Ports. By this time the French fleet was well organised in every respect except that it had no reserve force. In the naval history of France by Charles de la Roncière, printed in 1899 with the aid of the French Ministry of Marine, the help given by the Genoese and the Grimaldi family is fully acknowledged. To this semi-official history I am indebted for much of the following information. We are told that the King of France asked help from the Dorias and the Spinolas, who had fought for the Ghibellines, as well as from the Grimaldis and the Fieschies, who were on the Guelf side. Each faction had twenty-eight galleys, and there were altogether 8560 men to man these Genoese and Monegasque ships. Edward III. also made a bid for their assistance, and sent Vice-Admiral Uso di Mari to try to buy them over. Doria seemed inclined to treat, and two of the Grimaldi ships deserted. There were delays, but ultimately the joint Doria and Grimaldi fleets sailed round Gibraltar to join the French forces.

Edward III. was then preparing a fleet of seventy ships to invade Guienne, and another of two hundred vessels to

land troops in Flanders. While these preparations were being made, the Genoese and Monegasque fleets, with some French ships picked up on the way, appeared off Portsmouth. The inhabitants thought it was an English fleet, and Portsmouth was captured without discharging an arrow or striking a blow. Edward III., in a letter to the Governor of the Isle of Wight, described the result in two words: "incendiarism and pillage."[1] Nothing was spared, and all the preparations to send reinforcements to the Guienne fleet destroyed. Edward III., with his huge fleet of two hundred ships, managed, however, to get over to Flanders, and the French had to be content with sacking the Anglo-Norman Channel Islands. Then five of the best English ships and 1000 men were captured near Middelbourg and brought to Calais. Greatly annoyed, Edward III. called upon the Admirals Bardy and Drayton to stop such French piracies.

In spite of these orders, on the 5th October 1338 fifty galleys rowed swiftly up the Southampton waters. The French admiral, Hue Quieret, had offered a hundred pounds *tournois* to whomsoever would first penetrate into the town of Southampton, and his own men eagerly clambered up the walls. The civil population of the town was praying in the churches; but on the ramparts the soldiers were strong enough to hurl many Frenchmen down. The position of the assailants was becoming desperate when Charles Grimaldi and Anton Doria arrived on the scene. Shouting the Genoese battle-cry, they swept the English off the ramparts. The town was at once given over to pillage and many dwellings were burned down. After having slept in Southampton, to affirm their victory, the French, Genoese and Monegasque sailors loaded their ships heavily with booty and leisurely sailed away. Militia from Winchester, Salisbury and London hurried to Southampton, but by the time they arrived the invaders were nearing the port of Dieppe, where they landed their plunder.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii., part iv., p. 12.

A few weeks later the French and Monegasque fleets were at the mouth of the Thames. While cruising off Margate four ships appeared from the south. Pursued, the four ships prepared to fight, and the fleet, by which they were now surrounded, summoned them to surrender if English. But they replied they were not English. They were convoying the King of Scotland, David Bruce, who was going, with some of the principal lords of his court, to ask the King of France for help. The French, Genoese and Monegasque sailors then respectfully and courteously escorted the King of Scotland to Calais.

Now that the King of England and his fleet were away in Flanders the French and Genoese ships were masters of the Channel and free to invade England. This dangerous state of affairs continued through the autumn of 1338. Fortunately for the English, the French were not quick to seize the opportunity. It was not till the following 23rd of March 1339 that the Convention of Notables, assembled at Vincennes, voted in favour of such an invasion. Still nothing was done, as it was thought fit to refer this decision to the States of the Provinces. The latter, however, acted with some promptitude, for they had all ratified the decision by the 25th of April. Even at that late hour a competent leader might have been successful; but court influence rather than competence prevailed. Jean, son of the French king, was named chief of the expedition, but he was obviously unfitted for such a task. Nevertheless, with the aid of the Monegasques and Genoese, the French were so completely masters of the sea that they had already drawn up a Domesday Book describing generally how England was to be divided by its conquerors. Among other details, only £20,000 revenue was to be left to the English Church. But Pierre Royer, Archbishop of Rouen, and subsequently Pope, under the name of Clement VI., objected to the spoliation of an entire people; and all this talk of what was to be done with England when annexed proved very harmful to the French. The English did not fail to quote these proposals

extensively, and used them as a pretext to justify their own action when they had an opportunity of invading France.

In the meanwhile petty attacks coutinued. English ships were cut out of the ports of Bristol and Plymouth and captured or destroyed. A landing party set fire to the town of Harwich. Some French and Monegasque sailors, with as many ships as composed the fleet which Charles Grimaldi accompanied when he successfully stormed Southampton, returned to that port, but they were badly received. They were told to land and rest for two days and then the English would fight them, ten against ten, twenty against twenty, whatever number they might prefer. It is said that the French would have accepted this proud challenge, but the Monegasques did not look upon it as good business. They contented themselves with making descents on Hastings, the Isle of Thanet, Dover and Folkestone, which they were able to plunder with comparative facility. They returned to Calais on the 2nd of June, and were accorded a triumphal entry. But these sailors had disgraced themselves by the cruelties they perpetrated on the English coasts. They exhibited to the people at Calais ears, fingers and other human trophies which had been cut off their English victims. French historians themselves acknowledge and blame this brutality. They even find in this cruelty an explanation of the bitterness Edward III. felt towards the people of Calais and of his desire to hang six of the most notable citizens of that town.

The time for such revenge was now approaching. The French had wasted their opportunity. English ships, no longer detained in the Flemish ports, were reappearing in the Channel, and the democratic allies of the English king were ready to take the offensive. Jacques d'Arteveld, the brewer, and popular leader, was willing to lead the sturdy Flemish people on to Calais and thus second the efforts of the English ships as they lay off Wissant. The French fleet by itself was not sufficiently numerous to offer much resistance, for the Ghibellines had selected

this moment to desert the French cause. Thereupon their pay was stopped. Of course the sailors protested noisily. A few of the more disorderly among them were arrested and imprisoned. The Ghibelline Genoese galleys now set sail for Genoa, stopping at various ports on their way and relating that the French had incarcerated and ill-treated some of their comrades. At Boulogne-sur-Mer, however, they met some Genoese or Monegasques of the Guelf party, the followers of Charles Grimaldi, who took up the other side of the argument. The people rose, not knowing exactly for what cause, and the Genoese sailors profited by the general disorder to proclaim a Ligurian Republic at Boulogne-sur-Mer!

The quiet little port, which of late years has become the most English town out of England, was thus suddenly transformed into a minor Monaco, with Guelf and Ghibelline quarrelling for mastership. A Ghibelline doge was elected, who maintained at Boulogne in the far north of France, and within twenty-seven miles of Folkestone, the Law of Exile against the Guelfs which had been enacted at Genoa. What Englishman would to-day imagine that Monegasque politics were fought out so near to the cliffs of Dover?

Of course the Guelfs would not submit, and the French Government was too busy with the war against England to trouble about these local disputes. Indeed the French were at that time meditating a descent on the herring fishing fleet when it assembled at Yarmouth. By capturing or slaughtering the crews of these fishing boats they would destroy the recruiting ground for the English war galleys. On the 8th of September 1339 Charles Grimaldi, having received the pay for his fleet, and being reinforced by some French ships, started to attack the herring boats. Grandiloquent promises were made that a hundred English ships would be captured and no fewer than four hundred towns raided and destroyed. In this there was much talk and little execution. A violent storm wrecked some of the ships.

Then, as the English and the Flemish were penetrating into the north of France, it occurred to the fleet that the ships would be best employed removing arms and valuables from the northern ports before the invading forces arrived. Thus the allied fleets undertook the modest but useful functions of a floating pantechnicon.

This done, the Grimaldi naval division and what remained of the Doria ships were ordered back to the Mediterranean, to defend in those waters the French mercantile fleet. It was in great need of protection. Thus the Monegasques and their kindred, the Genoese partisans of the Ghibellines, got away in time to escape any responsibility or participation in the great disaster which was about to befall the French arms. Of the enormous fleet of two hundred and two ships the French had gathered together there only remained a very small Genoese contingent under Captain Barbavera. The great battle of *l'Ecluse*, by which the English gained the command of the Channel, is so well known in history that it is only necessary to say that Barbavera, at least, foresaw the disaster.

Barbavera was on outpost duty and sent the following message:—"My lords, here is the King of England and his fleet coming against us. Haste to reach the open sea with all your ships; if you remain here, the English, who have the wind in their favour, the sun and the tide, will so hem you in that you will not be able to defend yourselves."

Following his own advice, Barbavera and his ships gained the open sea and thus escaped from the clutches of the approaching English fleet. The French ships did not act upon this wise counsel: they remained in the Scheldt, and were nearly all destroyed.

Nothing, however, of any importance followed upon the great English victory of *l'Ecluse*. Of course, and that was important enough in itself, England was now free from the danger of invasion; but the victory was not followed up, and indeed a truce of nine months was concluded in September 1340. During that interval the

French not only endeavoured to reconstitute their naval forces but they once more and most urgently implored Charles Grimaldi to come to their aid.

In April 1341 Jean III. of Brittany died. The King of France repudiated the Salic Law, by which he himself had come to the throne, and supported the claims of Jean's niece, Jeanne, who had married Charles de Blois; while Edward III., for no better reason than a desire to quarrel, supported the claim of the late Jean's third brother, Jean de Montfort. Brittany had no navy, but the Monegasque division had managed to sail through the Straits of Gibraltar in spite of the wintry weather. It numbered twenty good war-vessels, with some minor craft, and assisted at the siege of Châteaureaux. Then it helped to bring about the capitulation of Nantes, when the English candidate, Jean de Montfort. was taken prisoner.

The English now gathered an army at Portsmouth, and there prepared to sail for Brittany, under a new banner, which de la Roncière in his naval history treats somewhat disrespectfully. It represented a St George bearing the arms of England and slaughtering a dragon. But we are told that this mystic effigy did not begin its career in a promising manner, for it was the dragon that defeated St George. The Comtesse de Montfort had gathered some troops at Northampton and was bringing them to France to rescue her captured husband. But Anthony Doria, cruising off Guernsey in mid August 1342, spied an English fleet of forty-six sail approaching. Soon a duel began between the English archers and the Genoese cross-bowmen. On coming to close quarters, the Comtesse de Montfort, "who was worth a man because she had the heart of a lion," repelled the attempt to board her ship, but suddenly a great darkness spread over the skies. Such a thunderstorm ensued that the chroniclers of the epoch declare it seemed as if the world was coming to an end. None was so brave but he wished to be back safe on land, says Froissart. Most of the ships seem to have sought safety from the storm rather than victory over the enemy. In

this flight from the storm four English ships, however, were captured. In their turn, a little later, the English inflicted some loss on Grimaldi's fleet near Morlaix. Nevertheless the English were obliged to abandon their attempt to blockade the coasts of Brittany.

The war dragged on without any great event till Charles Grimaldi was persuaded to gather yet another fleet, numbering this time thirty-two galleys and 7000 men. On the other hand, he was inexplicably slow in bringing his fleet from the Mediterranean to the Channel. By generously compensating the shipowners who had lost their vessels at the battle of *l'Ecluse*, Philippe VI. of France managed to get another fleet together, and something might have been done had not the Monegasque contingent wasted so much time in coming. The news that a large English fleet was about to sail arrived before Grimaldi's fleet. The latter had lost time at Nice, Marseilles and Majorca. On his side, Edward III,. by skilful manœuvring, succeeded in landing and taking the town of Caen, in Normandy.

If Charles Grimaldi had not arrived in time to participate in a great naval battle, which after all did not take place, he was in time to play a gallant part in the battle of Crécy. This celebrated battle was fought on the 26th of August 1346, and the Genoese crossbowmen under Charles Grimaldi and Anthony Doria were placed in the first line. They were already exhausted by a long march, yet no time was given them to rest. The strings of their crossbows were wet and loosened by the rain which had recently fallen. The English archers had taken the precaution to keep their strings dry. The English arrows hit the mark, the bolts from the Genoese crossbows fell short. What with fatigue and inefficient weapons, the Genoese began to lose ground. Instead of realising the special difficulties of their position, King Philippe cruelly ordered his cavalry to ride down upon the Genoese. "Kill these canaille!" he shouted, "they bar our road for no reason." The French knights galloped over the Genoese, but they

themselves soon fell under the relentless hail of English arrows. The English had also wooden guns, which threw stone balls. The latter did not do much harm, but the noise of the explosions frightened the horses and thus the first use of artillery in battle did add considerably to the confusion of the enemy. After their cruel ingratitude to their good allies the Genoese, the French merited the very severe chastisement they then received at the hands of the English. Charles Grimaldi was desperately wounded and left for dead on the field of battle. Nevertheless he recovered.

Not very long after the battle of Crécy, when besieging Calais, Edward III. had the mortification of seeing the ships with which he was blockading the port attacked and captured by Grimaldi's galleys.[1] But the siege of Calais continued, with all its horrors and heroisms. The French naval forces, badly handled, were of little help, and ultimately Calais capitulated. It was but a poor revenge for the French fleet to land some troops in Devonshire and destroy the town of Budleigh.

In 1350 what is known as the naval battle of Winchelsea was won by the English against the Spanish allies of France, and Peter, the new King of Castille, at once signed a treaty of peace with Edward III. This was the final blow to the policy of Philippe de Valois, and he died shortly afterwards, on 22nd August 1350.

His successor, Jean II., has often been adversely criticised, but, in any case, he appreciated the importance of reviving the French navy, and even of arming the ships with cannon. Then for the first time the record was made of the number of guns carried by a ship.

In 1355 Rainier Grimaldi, the grandson of the first Rainier, whose exploits have been described, arrived with twenty-four galleys and 6000 crossbowmen. Again there was lack of organisation on the French side, and this led to the disaster of Poictiers when the Black Prince, in

[1] Rymer, vol. ii., part iv., p. 205.

April 1357, took prisoner the French king, Jean II., and most of his knights.

On the 20th of May a truce of two years was arranged. The French bourgeoisie now began to exert themselves. They had been driven to the conclusion that the aristocracy were not heaven-sent rulers, and that the modest tradesmen and craftsmen might manage matters just as well, if not better. They therefore took upon themselves to equip a fleet to deliver their king, Jean, II. This French bourgeois fleet duly sailed in 1360. It crossed over to Portsmouth, hesitated, and finally overwhelmed whatever English ships could be found near Winchelsea. The French force then landed and took the town of Winchelsea by assault, but fearing reprisals they returned to Boulogne. This demonstration was not without effect, for shortly after the Treaty of London was signed, by which Jean II. regained his liberty and a truce was concluded.

By the time the truce was over, Charles V., the Wise, was on the French throne, and he at once set to work to reconstitute the French fleet. Like his predecessors, he turned to the Mediterranean ports, and especially to Monaco. In response, Rainier Grimaldi fitted out four galleys. In the Channel he met a squadron under Robert Assheton, who was taking *Charles le Mauvais*, King of Navarre, back to Cotentin. After desperate fighting one of the English ships was captured and all on board perished by the sword. The ship was a fine vessel of one hundred and eighty tons. It was sold for prize money in Normandy. As a reprisal the English, in August 1330, captured ships belonging to André Spinola and d'Oberto Squarziafico and the Genoese boats *Bayard* and *Le Vent*.

The arrival of Rainier Grimaldi was opportune, and English ships were destroyed near Gosport and Southampton. During the many raids the Monegasques made on the coasts of England an incident occurred which became legendary. Many more important events are completely forgotten; this has remained a popular story. The ship commanded by Rainier Grimaldi was driven ashore.

Saige says this occurred at the Isle of Wight; La Roncière and "La Chronique des Quatres Premiers Valois" say it was near Sandwich. In any case, some English soldiers came up and asked to whom the galley belonged. Rainier Grimaldi replied: "To the king of France." "Then," returned the soldiers, "surrender the galley to the King of France and of England." "What is his name?" shouted Grimaldi. "Edward," was the answer. "Edward!" exclaimed Grimaldi. "That is not the name of the King of France; he is called Charles, and to him only will we give up our ship." Thereupon the English soldiers attacked the galley, but were driven off till the rising tide floated the ship once more and Grimaldi victoriously sailed away.

Subsequently Rainier Grimaldi was employed to convoy merchant ships sailing up or down the Channel. On one occasion, with only a few ships and 1200 men, he threatened Southampton, not really with a view of attacking the town, now jealously guarded, but as a diversion to retain in England John of Lancaster, who was arming 11,000 men to pass over to Calais. The Duke of Lancaster, however, was not deterred from going to France. Indeed, his fleet subsequently captured Rainier Grimaldi himself. This happened in the spring of 1375, and Edward III. thought so much of the capture that, according to Rymer, he bought the prisoner for 12,000 golden francs. The entry made of this transaction is thus worded: "Renier Grymbaud, genevoys, prisonner of Rauf Basset of Drayton."

Shortly after this event a truce of two years was signed at Bruges, in June 1375. When, in 1377, the war was renewed, the French fleet, with the aid of Rainier Grimaldi, now liberated, won a great naval battle off Rye, but quarrelled among themselves afterwards. One party wished to occupy Rye permanently and make it the Calais of England and the basis for future invasions. Ultimately they effected a landing at the mouth of the Ouse, at Rottindean, and there, after some fighting, took prisoner a number of English soldiers. It was from these prisoners

that the French first heard of the death of Edward III. and the accession of Richard II. After burning the town of Lewis, the French and Rainier Grimaldi took to the sea again. They pillaged Portsmouth, Dartmouth and Plymouth, and they overran the Isle of Wight, with the exception of Carisbrooke Castle; where the governor, Hagues Tyrrel, held out bravely. Instead, however, of pillaging the island, the French and the Monegasques accepted a ransom of 1000 marks ("Chronicon Angliæ," p, 166). For many years the shores of England remained exposed to sudden naval incursions. Even Gravesend was captured and burned to the ground. The inhabitants of London had good reason, and on more than one occasion, to be seriously alarmed. Du Guesclin and Jean de Vienny, the two principal French admirals, were remarkably successful in spreading terror along the English coasts.

It is not clear at what precise moment Rainier Grimaldi got tired of fighting for the French, but he had already departed when the truce of 1389 was signed. Also by this time there had arisen plenty of trouble at home, for the Barbary pirates resumed their old habit of raiding the Riviera coasts. Genoese and Monegasques were now asking for French help against these old adversaries.

Later on, however, when, in 1415, Henry V. of England, with a large fleet, appeared at the mouth of the Seine, the French once again appealed for maritime help to the Genoese and Monegasques. While Henry V. besieged Harfleur, boats were collected higher up the Seine, but, in spite of a gallant attack, they could not relieve the besieged town. Harfleur having capitulated, Henry V. marched his much reduced and distressed army towards Calais. Meeting the superior French forces on the road, he won, in most disadvantageous circumstances, the brilliant and decisive victory of Agincourt (25th October 1415). Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, had been left in command of the English ships at Harfleur. But in the spring of 1416 a French fleet, under Guillaume de

Montenay, six galleys under Nicolas Grimaldi, and eight large ships built in the Portuguese style, with as many galleys from Genoa, under the command of Jean Spinola and Janus Grimaldi, came upon the scene. These ships seized a number of English transports bringing provisions and reinforcements for the English armies in France. In one of these encounters, Janus Grimaldi was killed.

Subsequently Guillaume de Montenay and Nicolas Grimaldi, with the ships they had gathered together at Honfleur, sailed for Southampton to attack the English fleet which was to bring provisions to Harfleur. Twice before Southampton they made unsuccessful efforts to fire the English fleet, and then some of their ships were wrecked by a fierce storm. Finally an important naval action took place in the Seine between Honfleur, Harfleur and Chef de Caux. The Genoese greatly distinguished themselves. Nevertheless the English were victorious, and got their provisions into Harfleur. At another naval battle, which took place in June 1417, the French and Genoese were again defeated by the English and the ships of Gaspar Spinola and other Genoese taken. The dispersal of the French fleet now enabled the English to occupy Honfleur, and thus they became masters of both sides of the mouth of the Seine.

When, twenty years later, the fortunes of war favoured France once more, and the English were not only driven out of France but so lost control of the Channel that England was menaced with starvation, we hear nothing more of the Monegasques and the Genoese. Probably they were not wanted to share the fruits of victory; their part had been to supply help in the hours of defeat.

CHAPTER IV

MONACO TILL THE END OF THE SPANISH DOMINATION

WHILE the first Rainier, Charles, and the second Rainier were warring against the English and the Flemish in the Channel and the North Sea, the Grimaldi family was consolidating its hold on Monaco. In the description of the wars the term Monegasque has perhaps been employed somewhat too early, chronologically speaking. Indeed it might even be maintained that there are no Monegasques, and that the term at most only signifies a geographical division between members of one and the same race. Undoubtedly it would be difficult to define by a precise line where the Genoese people is replaced by the Provençal people; and, within the Genoese frontier, the subdivision that separates the Monegasques from the Genoese. For my part I have classified as Monegasques the inhabitants of Monaco and the neighbouring estates belonging to the Grimaldis. Subsequently these retainers of the Grimaldi family consolidated and became the subjects of a principality, with a Grimaldi as its chief. Racially there does not seem to be a marked difference between them and the Genoese, but politically their status differed more and more as the making of Europe progressed. It is true that the counts of Provence claimed that their lands extended to Vintimille, and it cannot be said that the Provençal people, with their special language and literature, are the same as the Genoese. The claim, however, was never maintained for long. In fact it might be argued that the Monegasques must have differed from their neighbours by reason of the readiness with which these latter were willing to barter

them away whenever there was any chance of making a bargain. Thus in 1174 Raymond, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence, offered to make over Monaco and other Provençal territory to Genoa if the Genoese would help him to recover his rights over Provence. Then in 1191, when the Emperor Henry VI. wished to fight the people of Provence, he also made a present of Monaco to the commune of Genoa. Later, in 1241, Raymond Béranger V., Count of Provence, yielded his rights over Monaco to the Genoese Republic. Thus it does seem that originally Monaco was considered as a part of Provence, but it is doubtful whether this is sufficient to justify the conception that the Monegasques always have been different from their neighbours, the Genoese on one side and the Provençals on the other. Again, in 1262, Charles d'Anjou, as Count of Provence, confirmed the handing over of Monaco to the Genoese and the latter, now secure in their possession of Monaco, granted the Monegasques the large measure of Home Rule already described. But this security of possession was soon to be shaken, though not by any outside event or foreign pressure.

The Grimaldis were the principal family in the neighbourhood of Monaco, and they took sides with the Guelfs. When, in 1296, this party was defeated, the Guelfs and Grimaldis were exiled from Genoa. We have seen, however, that Francis Grimaldi returned; and by disguising himself as a monk succeeded in surprising the garrison and taking the fortress of Monaco. Thus Monaco became independent, being in rebellion against Genoa and no longer claimed by the counts of Provence. Of course the Genoese would not accept this situation, and in 1298 laid siege to Monaco. The result, as already related, was a sort of compromise peace.

After this for many years the fate of Monaco fluctuated with that of the Guelf party. So far as the Grimaldis were concerned, King Charles II. of Anjou, having bought property possessed by Guelf partisans at Monaco and in the neighbourhood, made, in 1301, a present of it

to Nicolas Spinola. The latter was the chief of the principal rival family to the Grimaldis, and the Spinolas also fought on the other side—that is, for the Ghibellines. But in 1341 this matter was finally settled in quite a prosaic manner. Charles Grimaldi, in the intervals of his wars against England, simply bought all the lands which Nicolas Spinola possessed in Monaco. The price paid, it is said, was 1280 golden florins, which is a large sum as money went in those days ; but after sacking Southampton, and several other English towns, Charles Grimaldi could well afford this little extravagance. He also bought the lordships of Castillon, in the diocese of Vintimille, of Roquebrune, of Menton and of Eze. The latter was then considered to be part of Provence.

How many pleasure-seekers on their holiday jaunts think, as they gaze at the romantic walls and battlements of Monaco, or admire the quaint old palace still occupied by the Grimaldis, that this family, the oldest reigning family in Europe, first made itself distinguished by sweeping the English off the sea ; and, what at the time was much more difficult, annihilating the fleet of the Flemish in their own waters, the Scheldt. To the Grimaldis, Rainier, Charles and the second Rainier the English should feel deeply indebted. They taught us most effectively that an island cannot be defended without a strong fleet. When first he came on the scene, Rainier Grimaldi trained his inexperienced French recruits by setting them upon the English ships. It is worth repeating that the only real sailors were the Flemish, and therefore Rainier sent his untrained hands to acquire necessary skill and strength by attacking the badly equipped and inefficiently manned English ships.

Those who governed England, the feudal lords, were far too busy with intrigues and internecine conflicts to think of building up an efficient navy. A navy must be a national institution, and the feudal system was better suited to local efforts. Indeed the idea of nationality grew as the feudal system declined.

Strange though it may seem, after so long a lapse of centuries, there is still a Grimaldi living in what remains of the fortress that Francis Grimaldi surprised and captured in 1297. What may be accounted even more surprising is the fact that the Grimaldi of to-day, like his ancestors six hundred years ago, is once again giving the world lessons in matters relating to the sea. But the world has moved in the interval. Other and better ideals have arisen. The pen has proved itself mightier than the sword and the light of science is preferred to the flash of arms. It is with the creation of a new science, the science of oceanography, that the present Grimaldi is concerned, and this he combines with active propaganda in the cause of peace. But are we absolutely certain that there was not underlying those fierce combats of the Grimaldis some vague ideal of peace ? The quarrel was between Guelf and Ghibelline, but it may be that there were on both sides combatants who entertained a dim hope of bringing about an era of universal peace and concord.

The world did not wait for the advent of Victor Hugo to realise that this end would best be attained by establishing the United States of Europe. At the time now under consideration the great struggle was between two rival powers each striving to carry out this very policy. On one side there was the Church of Rome seeking universal dominion, and among other means to that end very wisely endeavouring to establish Latin as the universal language. This of course meant the states of Europe federated under a theocracy. Others equally in favour of union desired a political and secular union. To them Charlemagne represented the nearest approach to success, and they strove to reconstitute the Roman Empire. In this struggle between Emperor and Pope the Ghibellines sided with the Emperor; the Guelfs, among whom were the Grimaldis and those who became Monegasques, sided with the Pope. Judged according to the modern aspect of politics and the actual meaning given to words, the Guelfs would be clericals and re-

actionists. But it may be argued that in those days clericalism was much more closely allied to progress than at present. On the other hand, princes were little better than pirates. The Church could never have acquired the power and popularity it enjoyed for several centuries if, on the whole, it had not protected the people against tyranny and many abuses. This, in any case, was the view taken by the Guelfs and their Grimaldi followers.

Beneath the broad mantle of religion the peoples of the world might possibly be brought together. Under the threat of eternal punishment and the promise of everlasting bliss they might be induced to forgo the love of revenge, to sink worldly differences, to forget personal ambitions, and unite to bring about an era of peace and good will to all men. But could such unity of purpose and action be secured under the crown of an emperor ? Then who should be this one sovereign of the world ? It is only at rare intervals in history that a Charlemagne appears who can command the suffrages of all. The result showed that the world was not ripe for such counsel of perfection. Of the two, the Papacy rather than the Imperial throne was nearer success ; but both were sadly out of keeping with the ideal.

During the fourteenth century the Genoese on several occasions occupied and administered Monaco. The Grimaldis then lived on their other estates at Mentone, Castillon and Cagnes. On one occasion the Grimaldis of Beuil seized Monaco, though they had no legal claim, and managed to keep possession of it from 1395 to 1401. They were then driven out by Marshal Boucicaut, Governor of Genoa. The Genoese themselves, however, revolted and overthrew their governor. Then Monaco appealed to King Louis II. of Anjou, who sent a few soldiers to protect the town against the Genoese. Ten years afterwards the Guelfs regained power at Genoa and in June 1419 the sons of Rainier were able to return to Monaco, from which the family had been exiled for sixty-two years. But the Grimaldis had been driven out

of Monaco because they were partisans of the Guelfs. The Republic of Genoa continued to allow the Monegasques to enjoy Home Rule and various commercial privileges. In a truce signed in 1412 between King Louis II. of Anjou and Genoa, Monaco figures as an independent community in alliance with the King of Sicily. In 1424 and 1426 other treaties recognised Monaco as independent.

At the death of the second Rainier, in 1407, he left three sons, Ambroise, Antoine and Jean; who, when they became masters of Monaco, made the extraordinary arrangement to reign each in his turn for one year. Their first care was to renew all the treaties concluded by Charles Grimaldi to ensure the independence of Monaco. But having taken part in a war againt the Duke of Milan they were severely defeated. The Duke of Savoy desired to see Monaco destroyed, and a Milanese garrison occupied the town, which was thus again lost to the Grimaldis.

Jean Grimaldi, however, was a great sailor, and he was employed by Francisco Sforza to fight the Venetians on the Po. Here he won a fierce battle, against the celebrated Carmagnola, on the 23rd May 1431. In 1436 he was restored to Monaco, but as a vassal of the dukes of Milan. During Jean's absence from Monaco, the Duke of Savoy suddenly made a descent upon the town, and by treachery he also took Jean prisoner. But Pomelline Frégose, Jean Grimaldi's wife, was a heroine. She organised the defence; and even when, to intimidate her, her husband was brought under the walls she refused to surrender. He had sent a message that if his captors killed him under the ramparts still she was not to yield. In the face of such resistance the Duke of Savoy abandoned his enterprise and the next year he released his prisoner, who then returned to Monaco. A year later (1440) the Duke of Milan renounced his overlordship of Monaco, which now became absolutely independent.

The policy of Jean was based on faithful devotion to

Philippe-Marie Visconti, whom the Genoese had chosen as their governor. When, however, Visconti died, Jean Grimaldi, now advanced in years, sought protection from his old enemy the Duke of Savoy. He offered in exchange for such protection the lordship, not over Monaco, but over a part of Mentone and all Roccabruna. This act was destined to lead to many difficulties and troubles in the future. Jean also contemplated selling Monaco itself to the Dauphin, son of Charles VII., for 15,000 golden *écus*, but this sum was never paid; the Dauphin, having abandoned the idea of invading Italy, had no need to buy Monaco. At Jean's death the first act of his son, Catalan Grimaldi, was to repudiate this treaty.

Before dying, Jean Grimaldi made a will establishing the order of succession. This was to be by primogeniture to male heirs. Women were only to succeed in the absence of any male heir, and on condition that their husbands took the arms and name of the Grimaldis.

Catalan reigned only three years, and died in 1457, when but forty-two years old. Of his three children, only a young girl named Claudine Grimaldi survived. Before his death Catalan decided that his daughter, Claudine, should marry Lambert Grimaldi, brother of Gaspar, Lord of the Antibes. So far as the family property was concerned the arrangement was admirable, but Claudine was only six years old and her future husband had already attained the ripe age of forty-two. During Claudine's minority her grandmother Pomelline conspired against her future grandson-in-law because the population of Monaco wished him to assume the reins of government at once. An attempt was even made to seize Lambert by force. The future grandmother-in-law sought to imprison, some say to murder, her future grandson-in-law. Fortunately, he got wind of the conspiracy, escaped and, returning with a superior force, first gave the conspirators a good beating and then proceeded to incarcerate Pomelline. She was, however, allowed to live in her own house at Mentone, where she was kept prisoner and carefully guarded. Lam-

bert married Claudine in 1465, and in spite of the disproportion in age they lived happily together. Lambert reigned till 1494 and displayed great diplomatic skill in maintaining the independence of Monaco. Not only was this independence generally admitted but it was recognised in the treaties signed by some of the principal powers.

We now approach a period of history which might well be dramatised. Those who love the old-fashioned melodrama would here find ample materials, and "The Tragic Widow; a Romance of Monaco" might be a suitable title. The widow is Claudine, who lived to see three of her sons murdered. The first to reign was Jean II. He is the first Prince of Monaco mentioned in history as having encouraged the fine arts, and pictures commissioned by him are still to be seen in the cathedral of Monaco. He also greatly embellished the palace. But he was not skilful in diplomacy. His tendency was to defy everybody, and he made enemies on all sides. The difficulties this occasioned were so great that in his extremity he thought of selling Monaco to the Venetians. On the 11th of October 1505, when dining with his mother in their castle at Mentone, a quarrel arose between Jean II. and his brother Lucien on this subject. No one knows what happened except that daggers were drawn, Jean II. was stabbed and fell dying at his mother's feet. It is urged that Lucien cannot have been so very much to blame, for, while deeply lamenting the loss of her son Jean, Claudine bore no ill-will towards Lucien, and made no opposition to his entering into possession of the estate as the head of the family.

The very next year the Genoese determined to put an end to the independence of Monaco and then began the greatest of the many sieges which that town has had to endure. Lucien, with the aid of his young brother, Charles, and Barthélemy Grimaldi, organised a heroic resistance. The siege lasted one hundred and two days, and artillery was brought to bear upon the walls for the first time. A final assault was made on the 19th of March 1507. A breach had

been effected in the wall at Serravalle, where to-day the old tower overlooks the road to Nice just behind the palace. But fresh works had been rapidly constructed behind the breach, and after a stubborn hand-to-hand fight the enemy was beaten off. In despair they raised the siege. This magnificent resistance on the part of the Monegasques had the inconvenience of making Louis XII. of France realise the importance of Monaco, and he at once proceeded, by means both fair and foul, to make sure that, in the event of a war, Monaco should be on the French side. The celebrated Machiavelli also realised the new situation, and we hear of his visiting Monaco on behalf of the Florentine maritime interests in May 1511. Ferdinand the Catholic likewise began to bestow favours and attentions upon Lucien. This may account for the solemn recognition of the independent sovereignty of Monaco by Louis XII. in 1512. Lucien as an independent sovereign thereupon proceeded to coin money in his own name.

The Dorias, and more distant relatives of the Grimaldi family, however, were so jealous that Barthélemy and André Doria conspired to overthrow Lucien. The details of this plot would make an excellent play. On 22nd August 1523 we have the arrival of Barthélemy at Monaco under the guise of friendship; his conscience, however, is so disturbed that he refuses to accompany Lucien to church. After dinner Barthélemy on some pretext draws Lucien away from his followers to a distant part of the palace, where the conspirators are in waiting. Here the prince is murdered, and the conspirators make themselves masters of the lower part of the palace. They seek to gain the upper floors, from which to signal to the fleet of ships anchored in the port—the fleet of the Dorias —to send to their assistance a force with which they may capture the town. By this time, however, the subjects of Lucien have completely recovered from their surprise. They defend the approaches to the second floor and prevent the signal from being given. At this moment Augustin Grimaldi, brother of Lucien, and the next heir,

arrives from Cannes. He rallies the Monegasques, and the conspirators are about to be put to the sword. But they have had the foresight, at the moment when they became masters of the situation, to lay hands upon Jeanne de Pontevis, the wife of Lucien, and her children. Holding knives to her breast, they threaten her and her children with instant death if they are not allowed to leave unmolested. The conditions must be granted, and the conspirators safely retire. Thus Lucien, who murdered his brother, falls by the assassin's dagger in his turn.

Claudine's third son now assumed the sovereignity of Monaco, and he too came to an untimely end. In his case it was not the assassin's knife but the more treacherous poison of a murderous political opponent. At this time Charles the Fifth of Spain was the principal monarch in Europe. This great ruler thought Monaco of sufficient importance for him to pay Prince Augustin a personal visit. When on his way to be crowned at Bologna, Charles V. disembarked at Monaco on the 5th August 1529 and proceeded by land to Genoa. He was accompanied by Angustin Grimaldi and Honoré, the son of Lucien, who was then only seven years old.

These friendly relations ended in the establishment of the Spanish protectorate. The princes of Monaco were to render feudal homage to the Emperor Charles V., but Monaco was to retain its autonomy as an independent principality. This is set forth in the document known as the Declaration of Tordesillas. But it was not without reluctance that the Spanish victories and the force of complex circumstances, which it would require much time to explain, led Augustin to turn from France to Spain for protection. To the last he entertained the hope of returning to France, and continued negotiations with this view. Perhaps these intrigues may account for his sudden death, so sudden as to have caused the conviction that it was due to poison.

Honoré I., son of the murdered Lucien, was only ten years old when he succeeded his uncle, Augustin. The time

of his minority was far from tranquil; it was occupied by plots and counterplots as to who should be his tutor. Then there was trouble with the Spaniards, who now insisted on keeping a garrison at Monaco under the pretext that the French were about to attack the town. Thus there was an Imperial Resident, Valenzulea by name, commanding Spanish soldiers, who did not feel at all disposed to respect the autonomy of Monaco and its princes. Etienne Grimaldi, who ultimately obtained the tutorship of the young Prince Honoré, resisted these encroachments so well that, when Honoré became of age, Etienne was asked to continue governing in the capacity of Honoré's "elected father" and of *Gubernant*, or governor. Etienne showed himself a very able administrator and greatly improved Monaco. He constructed, among other things, the great cistern, which holds 1700 cubic metres of rain-water, and which enabled Monaco to endure long sieges. The twelve arcades, the marble balustrades and the semicircular flight of steps in the Court of Honour of the palace which we admire to-day owe their existence to Honoré's "father elect."

Great financial difficulties with Spain now arose. The Spanish Government failed to pay its soldiers in garrison at Monaco and there was the same embarrassment with regard to the Monegasque ships in the service of Spain. Many of these ships were seized for debt and afterwards were lost off the island of Zerbi, taken by the Turks in 1561. This was the beginning of the decay of Monaco's maritime power; though some ships under the Grimaldi standard took a creditable part in the battle of Lepante.

Honoré I. died in 1581, leaving four sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Charles II., succeeded at the age of twenty-seven, and shortly after his accession some 500 Corsicans and French attempted to take Monaco by storm. It was on this occasion that St Dévote is supposed to have appeared on the walls and upbraided the Corsicans for attacking the town that took such good care of the remains of their patron saint. The attack totally failed.

Charles II. did not marry, and died young. He was succeeded in 1589 by his brother, Hercules I. As the Spanish continued to neglect all their financial responsibilities there was increasing dissatisfaction and distress. Another night surprise was attempted against Monaco, this time by 700 men from Provence. They were commanded by a Monegasque named César Arnaud, but in spite of their vigour in attacking they were driven off. Next a notary named Boccone entered into a conspiracy with the house of Savoy to upset the dynasty, get rid of the Spaniards and put Monaco into the hands of Savoy. Probably it was to a similar plot that the murder of Hercules in the *rue du Milieu* may be attributed. The prince was leaving the house of Gastaldi the Governor when he was stabbed. This was the house that now bears the number 15 in the *rue du Milieu.*

Honoré II. was the next heir, and at first he reigned under the tutorship of Prince de Valdetare, an uncle on his mother's side, who was entirely devoted to the Spanish. Consequently he soon became unpopular among the Monegasques. A larger garrison of Spanish troops was brought to Monaco, and Honoré II. received the Order of the Golden Fleece. Valdetare abolished the communal prerogatives of Monaco on which the Grimaldis had relied since the origin of their lordship. The more the Spaniards reduced the power of the Grimaldis, the more they bestowed upon them outward shows of favour. For example, the title of Prince, used up to this time only by courtesy, was now, with the sanction of Spain, officially conferred. Thus we hear of " Honoré II., Prince and Lord of Monaco." Honoré was also encouraged to issue coin with his own likeness, but, in reality, he was obliged to abstain from governing and rest contented, for thirty years, with the honour of receiving princes and the pleasure of beautifying his palace. In this latter work he succeeded so well that the seventeenth-century poets, artists and travellers all agreed in singing the praises of the palace of Monaco.

In 1631 the plague broke out at Monaco. The disease already prevailed in the neighbourhood, and it was said that some infected linen from La Turbie was brought to Monaco to be washed. The most rigorous measures were enforced. The people were kept prisoners in their houses, and all social intercourse forbidden. But one day there came two monks from Nice declaring that dirt was the cause. Everyone was thereupon driven to the sea and made to take a prolonged bath. At the same time their furniture was brought down and also washed in the sea, while their houses were fumigated. To further these efforts there came a deluge of rain. The plague was thus washed away and the epidemic at once ceased.

As time wore on, the position became more intolerable and, in the absence of their pay, the Spanish soldiers even asked permission to pillage the palace they were supposed to protect. At last Honoré II. succeeded in secretly concluding a treaty, the Treaty of Péronne, with Cardinal Richelieu. This act bears the date of September 1641. A French garrison was to occupy Monaco, but its officers were to be under the orders of the Prince of Monaco, whose independence should in every way be respected. It was on the 17th November 1641 that the *coup d'état* was accomplished. A number of partisans were arrested and brought to the Monaco prisons. In the night, after a banquet at which all the Spanish officers and soldiers had been well plied with drink, the prisoners, who were friends in disguise, were armed and released. With the rest of the population they sprang upon the garrison. A cannon fired from the rampart brought up French soldiers concealed in the neighbourhood; and the Spaniards, overwhelmed, were glad to save their lives by surrendering. Only five of them had been killed and ten wounded.

Honoré II. published a manifesto to the Powers explaining his conduct, and returned the Order of the Golden Fleece. Of course he lost all the property he possessed in Spain, and all the privileges and honours the Spanish

emperor had conferred on him. The alliance of the Grimaldis with Spain had been most disappointing, and Honoré II. was convinced that France was not only the nearer but the more reliable ally. Still, the enmity of Spain was now to be anticipated, and precautions must be taken.

CHAPTER V

MONACO FROM RICHELIEU TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

EUROPE was now in the throes of the great struggle between Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Church. Monaco was but a small state, some may think too small to take part in this war of giants. Nevertheless it had thrown off the incubus of Spain just in time to assist in working out the far-reaching policy of Richelieu and his successor, Mazarin. Richelieu was determined not to allow Austria to accomplish in 1635 what Prussia did in 1870. He had ruthlessly beheaded French aristocrats who conspired against the King and had tenaciously fought the French Protestants so as to maintain the authority of the throne and the unity of the nation. But when Austrian policy was likely to bring about German unity Richelieu fought for the Protestants in Germany, though he sought to crush them in France. Though a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, he was willing to support the Protestant cause beyond the Rhine rather than allow the creation of a powerful Germany on the French frontier. As in these wars Spain was arrayed against France, Monaco, by reason of its geographical position and the safe shelter afforded in its harbour, became a place of importance. Louis XIII. of France, to compensate Honoré II. for what he had lost in abandoning Spain, conferred on him the Duchy and Peerage of Valentinois, made him Count of Carladez, Baron of Buis and Calvinet, and gave him the lands and lordship of Saint Rémy. Honoré II. was received at the court in Paris, and later Louis XIV. became godfather to Honoré's grandson, Louis. As this

child's father was accidentally shot a few years afterwards, it was the godson of Louis XIV. who became the next Prince of Monaco, under the title of Louis I. Honoré II. died in 1662, after a long and very successful reign. He so improved the court of Monaco that he was called the Louis XIV. of Monaco, and he greatly increased the influence of his family by marrying his grandson Louis to Charlotte, daughter of the Marshal de Gramont.

When the English revolution drove the Stuarts into exile, Charlotte de Gramont, wife of Prince Louis of Monaco, became the favourite companion of Henrietta, daughter of Charles I. of England and wife of the Duke of Orleans. The Duke of York, subsequently James II. of England, desired to avail himself of the situation in favour of his plans by making use of the port of Monaco. He conceived a scheme for assembling at Monaco a fleet with which to sail for England and re-establish the monarchy. But if the court of France was anxious to show sympathy with the exiled Royal Family of England, Cardinal Mazarin was much more concerned to keep peace with Cromwell. It was all very well to sympathise with the fallen Stuarts; but if Cromwell could be induced to lend a few of his Ironsides to aid the French, in their wars against Spain, that was a purpose far more worthy of accomplishment. It was in 1650 that the Duke of York cast his eyes on Monaco. Honoré II. was still living, and the King of France entrusted him with the very difficult task. He was to satisfy the Duke of York in any way except that of allowing him to make use of the port of Monaco for hostile purposes against the English Commonwealth. This Honoré II. did with so much skill that he was especially congratulated and complimented by the court of France.

Mazarin's policy was successful. He not only established very friendly relations with Cromwell but actually obtained the assistance of some of Cromwell's soldiers to fight the Spaniards. There still exists at Monaco written evidence in proof of this fact. These historical

documents came to be included among the archives of Monaco in the following manner. Honoré-Charles-Maurice, Duc de Valentinois, subsequently Honoré V., married the only daughter and surviving child of the sixth and last Duc d'Aumont; the Duc d'Aumont had married Jeanne de Durfort-Duras, Duchesse de Mazarin; the Grimaldi family therefore inherited the d'Aumont papers, which included some relating to Mazarin. These consist of one hundred and seventy-four letters, a large portion of which are letters from Cardinal Mazarin to Marshal d'Aumont, writen from July 1643 to August 1659. The ink is good but the paper bad. Some of the letters are folded eight times. The courteous first sentence and the signature are always in Mazarin's hand, and in some cases the entire letter. Occasionally the Cardinal wrote to a dictated letter a postscript in his own hand as long as the letter itself. The letters generally bear a red or blue ribbon sealed with the Cardinal's ring, engraved with his arms. Marshal d'Aumont was engaged for a long time in the war against the Spaniards, and the struggle was protracted for some twenty-four years. Many of the letters relate to this campaign. Mazarin's policy of reconciliation with England succeeded so well that Cromwell sent 6000 troops to help the French against the Spaniards. Among the d'Aumont correspondence is one from Cromwell regarding an English contingent sent to Mardike, a town near Dunkerque. It is addressed to the Marshal, and is worded as follows:—

"For his Excellency the Marshal of Aumont at Mardike

"My Lord,—Wee having been given to understand that the Spanyard had some Designe to attacqs Mardike did send five companyes of Colonell Guibons Regiment from home for assisting of the fforces there but having now understood that there is an addition of forces of French and English, which wee hope (through the blessing of God) may be able to defend that place against

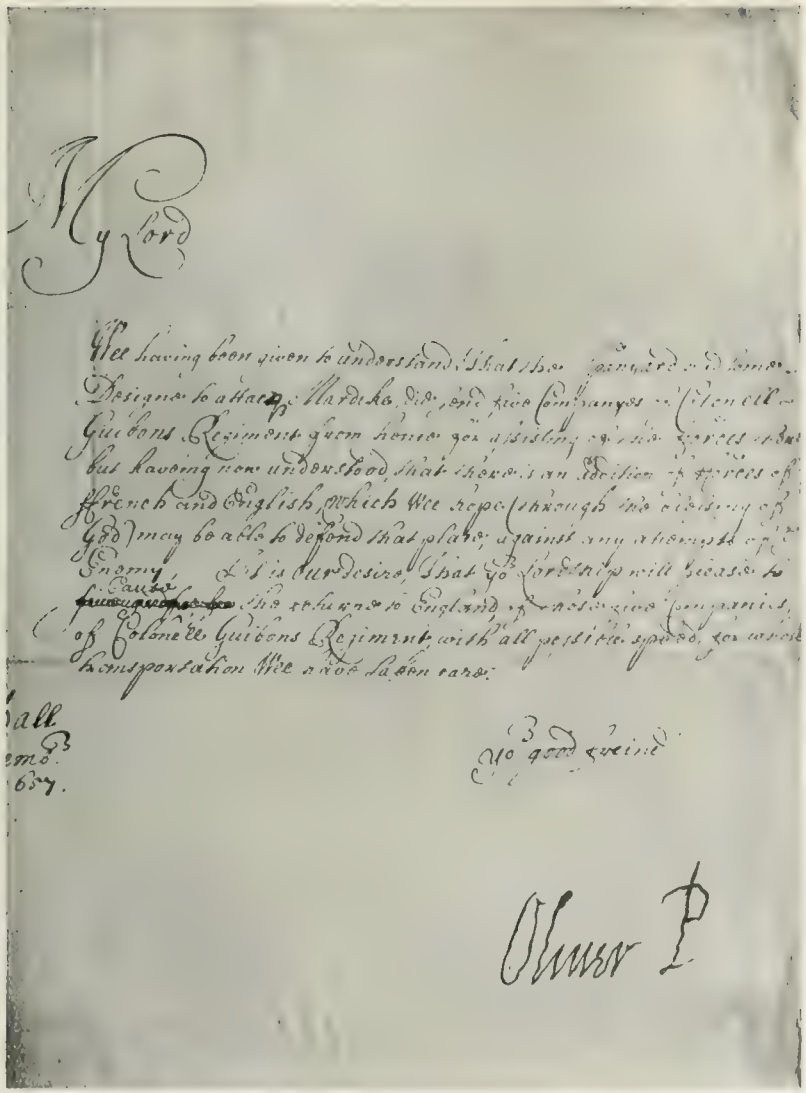
any attempt of ye enemy. It is our desire that your Lordship will please to cause the returne to England of these five Companies of Colonelle Guibons Regiment with all possible speed, for whose transportation we have labourard. Your good friend,

"OLIVER, *P.*

"WHITEHALL, 30*th Decemb.* 1657."

Thus the princes of Monaco not only helped Cromwell by refusing to allow the Duke of York to use their port, but they married into a family which had fought side by side with Cromwell's soldiers; and they still possess one of Cromwell's letters. Few people realise how often the house of Grimaldi has been involved in English politics. Generally its action has been against England, but it was in favour of Cromwell and the Commonwealth. After the Restoration of the Stuarts, French arms were again turned against England; and, the better to wage a maritime war, the French became the allies of the Dutch. They were, however, very unstable allies, and preferred rather to see the Dutch and English ships damage each other than risk French ships in the fighting. Louis I. of Monaco, anxious to escape from the court intrigues in which his wife was compromising herself, and desirous of distinguishing himself by some feat of arms, was waiting in vain for the arrival of the French fleet under M. de Beaufort. At last, in company with his brother-in-law, the romantic Comte de Guiche, Prince Louis of Monaco took service with the Dutch fleet, just in time to assist at the celebrated battle of Texel. This great fight, which lasted for four days, took place at the beginning of June 1666. The Comte d'Estrades, French ambassador in Holland, sent the following report to Louis XIV. concerning the conduct of the two combatants:

"M. le Prince de Monaco and M. le comte de Guiche, being on the ship commanded by Captain Terlon, second



Letter from Oliver Cromwell

to Admiral Ruyter, were the first to charge the enemy, and then were so prompt in accosting the vice-admiral of the Red Pennant that they came to pistol shots, and as both had supports the fight lasted two hours. Hence there were many people killed. The comte de Guiche mixed with the soldiers and sailors because he speaks more easily than the captain himself. At the moment when they thought they were about to capture the enemy's ship their own ship caught fire. They worked hard to extinguish the fire; but as the flames had spread to the sails the Prince of Monaco and M. de Guiche undressed, retaining only their drawers, so as to jump into the sea before the powder magazine was ignited. At that moment a Dutch vessel, the *Little Holland*, passed and fastened itself to the stem of their ship, and several of the crew were able to throw their weapons into this ship and scramble on board. The boat which they thus boarded was commanded by the brother of Admiral Ruyter; it was on its way to assist another ship which was much damaged. They again fought, and for three hours, on this vessel; till at last it was put *hors de combat* and had to be rescued. M. le Prince de Monaco and M. le comte de Guiche, with the sieur de Nointel, who did not abandon them, were taken, by the vessel which came to their help, to Admiral Ruyter's ship. The Admiral received them with great joy and ordered clothes to be brought them. It was the last day of the battle which was the hardest. These gentlemen were always in the forefront of danger. M. de Guiche was wounded in the arm and shoulder by a cannon-shot. He lost three of his servants and the equerry of the Marshal de Gramont."

Admiral Ruyter lost four ships, which were sunk, but he captured six English ships and sank or burned seventeen. A thick fog enabled the remains of the English fleet to escape.

Louis XIV. was delighted that a few officers coming from the French court had been able to render distinguished service to his allies, as this helped to maintain

French prestige, otherwise somewhat compromised through the absence of the French ships. It was during this war, it will be remembered, that the Dutch sailed up the Thames with brooms fastened to their masts to indicate that they would sweep the English off the seas; but they did not quite succeed in doing this. Indeed, when the ensuing peace was signed at Breda, in July 1667, the Dutch gave New Amsterdam over to the English, and this Dutch colony was henceforth named New York.

Having encountered Charles II.'s fleet in the war, Prince Louis of Monaco was destined to encounter Charles II. personally. On the latter occasion the struggle was for the smiles of one of the most beautiful women of the time. Separated at last from his wife, whose intrigues were incorrigible, Prince Louis became attached to Cardinal Mazarin's beautiful niece, the notorious Hortense Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin. When she was exiled from France, in consequence of her intrigues, Prince Louis followed her, first to Rome and then to London. Here Charles II. forthwith became enamoured of the beautiful refugee, and at one time it seemed as if she would take the place of the Duchess of Portsmouth. A ruinous contest followed between the powerful King of England and the prince of a minute principality. At one moment, in jealous anger, Charles II. withdrew the pension of £4000 he had allowed to the Duchess of Mazarin, whereupon Prince Louis immediately allowed her a pension of the same amount. Métivier, in his history, maintains that, on the whole, though he was but a prince and his rival a king, the lady preferred to bestow her favours on Prince Louis of Monaco. Nevertheless, fortunately for his peace of mind and for his purse, Louis managed to cure himself of his passion. Then, after having pretty energetically kicked over the traces, he returned to his principality and to his subjects, to draw up a model code of laws, known to this day as the Code Louis. But if Prince Louis improved the laws, he abolished what vestiges still remained of the communal or municipal life established by the Genoese.

In thus excluding the people from all share in the responsibility of government, he prepared the ground for the dissatisfaction that on more than one occasion wrecked the fortunes of the Grimaldis.

Soon a new call was made upon Prince Louis. When Louis XIV. married Marie-Thérèse of Austria she was obliged to renounce her claim to the Spanish succession. When, however, the succession was open, Louis XIV. conveniently discovered that a private contract could not prevent the application of a fundamental law. Therefore he determined to assert his wife's rights to the Spanish succession. Rome was the centre of negotiations, and as Prince Louis of Monaco possessed not only the necessary diplomatic subtlety, but also a Southern love of ostentatious display and extravagance, he was thought admirably suited to represent France at Rome. The result was that Prince Louis spent a large part of his fortune in fulfilling this mission, and in outward show he eclipsed all the other ambassadors. It is related, as an instance of his magnificence, that the horses of his escort were shod with silver. Further, care was taken to nail on the shoes very loosely, so that some of them dropped off, to the delight and benefit of the crowd. Such pomp and prodigality had never been seen. The Prince had spent a year in preparing for the journey, but perhaps he overshot the mark, and his display of wealth and extravagance was by some considered to be exaggerated. Rendu, who is an impartial historian, is of opinion that Prince Louis was successful, and kept the French interests well to the front. The French obtained satisfaction in so far that it was ultimately decided that the grandson of Marie Thérèse, the second son of the Dauphin, should succeed to the crown of Spain if he renounced all claim to the crown of France. The importance of such negotiations is obvious, and shows what a responsible part some of the princes of Monaco have played in European politics.

These negotiations took place in 1699, and later. Prince Louis I. died in 1701, at the age of fifty-nine, having

reigned nearly forty years. He was succeeded by his son, Antoine I., who was already forty years old. Like his father, he married a woman more celebrated for her beauty than for her virtue. His mother, "Madame de Monaco," as the heroine of novels and many a story more or less fictitious, had earned unenviable notoriety, and now his wife, Marie de Lorraine, daughter of the Comte de Armagnac, seemed bent on following the example of her mother-in-law. The conduct of Marie de Lorraine was such that, like his father, Prince Antoine was glad to leave her and take service for France. Thus it came about that he took part in the German campaign of 1688 and was present at the seiges of Mons and Namur.

Shortly after the death of Louis I., Europe was torn by the war over the Spanish succession. At first this did not affect Monaco, but in 1705, Savoy having taken sides against France, the safety of Nice and Monaco was menaced from the sea by English ships, and from the mountains by Savoyard soldiers. Prince Antoine wished to see the French occupy the strategical position of La Turbie. Marshal de La Feuillade, however, would not consent to this; but, considering that the historical and Roman trophy of La Turbie might be used as a fortress, he caused it to be blown up. The explosion destroyed only half the tower, but it was an act of vandalism for which obviously there was no sufficient excuse. The near approach of war caused Antoine I. to devote much care and much money to the improvement of the fortifications of Monaco. There still remains the picturesque fort which he built, and which now commands the end of the quay on the commercial side of the port. It bears a tablet with the inscription, *Fort Antonius Prim anno Salutis* MDCCIX. Above is a modern flag-signalling station, but close to it stands a stone sentinel-box such as might have been constructed when the Saracens were still to be feared. The wall is partly rock and partly masonry, with large stone embrasures for cannon. The walk round this corner is one of the most interesting in the principality, both on account

Monaco in the early part of the Eighteenth Century

of the old fortifications and the natural growth of the rock. Nor is this vegetation unconnected with warlike preparations. In the days when wire entanglement had not been invented the thorns of the aloe, the agave and the prickly pear were a very effective substitute. From the end of the new breakwater an inspiring view of the picturesque battlements may be enjoyed. The darkness of the stones, probably due to the modern gas-works rather than to antiquity, gives them the appearance of recording the history of untold centuries. One above the other rise three fortified terraces, with palm-trees like defiant feathers waving their branches on the top.

To build Fort Antoine, Prince Antoine had his silver melted down and sold his jewels. He also constructed vast underground refuges to be used in case of a bombardment, and kept the cisterns in good order and well filled with water. These works were not terminated till 1713. By that time (especially during the negotiations for the Treaty of Utrecht) Antoine was in great danger of losing his independence, for the Duke of Savoy energetically claimed the cession of Monaco. The King of France replied that he could not give what was not his ; but the old servitude in respect of Roccabruna and Mentone, which Jean in a weak moment had foolishly ceded, was now revived. While Monaco remained independent, on behalf of Mentone and Roccabruna Antoine was obliged to acknowledge the overlordship of the house of Savoy.

Another source of grief was the absence of male issue. Antoine had only daughters, of whom three survived in 1712. The eldest, Louise-Hippolyte, was but fifteen years old, and already the most distracting, underhand family intrigues were pursued with regard to her future husband. Antoine's brother, though a priest and the Abbé of Monaco, was evidently quite willing to accept the succession. Several betrothals were attempted, and through all these complications Antoine very wisely insisted that his daughter should not marry into a very exalted family, for fear the member of such a family should not willingly and

sincerely renounce his own name to take the name and position of the chief of the Grimaldis. Finally, Princess Louise-Hippolyte married Jacques de Goyon Matignon, Comte de Thorigny, a member of one of the oldest families of Brittany. He was descended from the celebrated Marshal Jacques de Matignon, who at the time of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew refused to carry out the orders he had received. He would not stain his hands by treacherously murdering his Protestant neighbours. Thus in the history of the princes of Monaco, as in so many other histories, we find that there are circumstances when the "don't shoot" policy can be carried out to the unanimous approval of posterity.

Prince Antoine I. died in 1713, and though he had suffered in his private capacity as a husband and a father he was an able politician, and had done much to make his people happy. He was also a patron of painting, and devoted to music. He attracted artists to Monaco, and did his best to encourage refinement and culture. So great, however, was the spirit of intrigue at that time that when Louise-Hippolyte succeeded Antoine I., as Princess of Monaco, she had already been taught to look with jealousy upon her husband, and accused him of assuming more authority than was his right. However, this disagreement did not last long, for after a reign of only eleven months the princess contracted smallpox and died. Without the slightest opposition, her husband was recognised as reigning prince, under the title of Jacques I. But his sister-in-law, Princess Isenghien, second daughter of Antoine I., did not fail to conspire against her dead sister's husband. Her excuse was that the population would not be governed by a prince who had no Grimaldi blood in his veins. Prince Jacques met this objection by appointing the Chevalier de Grimaldi Governor of the Principality. The new governor was the natural son of Antoine I., and a man of exceptional ability. For half-a-century he managed the affairs of the principality to the satisfaction of all concerned.

In 1733 Jacques I. abdicated in favour of his son, Honoré III., though the latter was barely fourteen years old, but the Chevalier de Grimaldi kept a tight hold on the affairs of the principality during the prince's minority and his absence. In his younger days the prince was absent in the service of the French army, and once again we find the Grimaldis taking sword in hand to fight the English. It is extraordinary that the Grimaldis always contrived to take up arms against the English at the times when the English were particularly unfortunate. It somehow happened that when the fortunes of war changed, and the English were victorious, the Grimaldis were usually absent. The battle of Crécy was an exception to this rule, but at the battle of Fontenoy both Honoré III. and his brother, Charles Maurice, Knight of Malta, fought with such distinction that Voltaire in his "Poème de Fontenoy" wrote:

"Monaco perd son sang et l'Amour en Soupire."

The English, though they had the Dutch, the Hanoverians and some Hungarians to help them, were defeated after a stubborn resistance. Charles Maurice of Monaco was wounded at Fontenoy. Later, at the battle of Rancoux, Prince Honoré III. was wounded, and at Lawfeld his horse was killed under him. Honoré III. received the Cross of St Louis, and at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, was promoted to the rank of Marshal.

While these wars were distracting the great powers, the Chevalier de Monaco, who was practically ruling the little principality, managed to maintain its neutrality. Thus he impartially assisted both English and French ships when endangered by stress of weather or other causes. In 1747, nevertheless, after the battle of Gorbio and the occupation of the county of Nice by the allied Austrians and Sardinians, Monaco was blockaded by sea and by land. The surrounding country was devastated, especially by the Croatians, who formed part of the Austrian army. Fortunately, however, the victorious

advance of the French in 1748 soon cleared the Riviera and restored peace.

It was not till 1757 that Honoré III. married Mademoiselle de Brignole, whose forefathers had been doges at Genoa. This family was very anxious to make it quite evident that they thought just as much of themselves as any princely house. Therefore when Mademoiselle de Brignole arrived on board a ship in the port of Monaco, her mother insisted that the Prince of Monaco must come on the ship so as to conduct his bride to the shore. This, however, Honoré III. conceived to be against princely etiquette. There was a painful scene, aggravated by the fact that a large portion of the bridal party were terribly seasick. Nevertheless the Genoese flotilla sailed away and anchored off Bordighera. Negotiations followed, and were continued for two days. At last the following compromise was effected. The bride should return to Monaco. Prince Honoré would not go on board to bring her to the shore: the bride on her side refused to land alone. But a long wooden bridge should be thrown from the shore to the ship. The prince would go half way across this bridge. Mademoiselle de Brignole would cross it half way on her side, and the future husband and wife could thus meet in the middle. It could not be said, therefore, that either had made any concession to the other, and a perfect equality between them would be maintained. From this union was born, in 1768, the future Prince Honoré IV.

During the summer of 1767 the Duke of York, brother of King George III., was travelling by sea from Marseilles to Genoa, when he was suddenly taken ill. As Monaco was near at hand the English ship, flying the Royal Standard and showing signals of distress, entered the port. Honoré III. hastened to give every assistance, and placed his palace at the disposition of the Duke of York. After lingering eleven days, the duke died. According to the popular legend, a pleasure yacht followed the Duke of York's ship and anchored off the *Pointe de la Veille.* A beautiful young woman came on

shore and entered a cavern in the rock, and the yacht sailed away. The peasants declared that this fair form, draped in white, was seen daily sitting on the rock and gazing in the direction of the palace. When at last the duke died, and the Royal Standard flew half-mast high, the fair apparition plunged into the water, never to be seen again. After this the rock was considered to be haunted, and the peasants would make the sign of the cross when they passed near the fatal spot.

George III. and his brother the Duke of Gloucester wrote and expressed great gratitude for the care Honoré III. had taken of their brother during his last moments. The Duke of Gloucester sent Honoré III. six magnificent horses which had belonged to the Duke of York, and George III. invited him to court. Accordingly, Honoré III. went to London in 1768, and was received with great honours by King George.

At first Honoré III. lived happily with his proud Genoese wife, in spite of all the difficulties she had made with regard to her landing at Monaco. But the princess was twenty years younger than her husband, and was much courted and admired. Instead of meeting in Honoré a friend and adviser, she found herself treated with suspicion and reserve. At last the young woman became weary, revolted and deliberately gave her husband good cause to demand a separation. Often victorious in war, the Grimaldis have not been as fortunate in their love affairs. The separation was pronounced in 1770. After the death of her husband, Catherine de Brignole married, during the emigration, the Prince de Condé. The very large fortune she had inherited from her family was swallowed up by the army Condé tried to form so as so invade his own country and chastise the French people for selecting a form of government of which he did not approve. This unfortunate woman died in England in 1813; she was then seventy-five years old. Her second husband, the Prince de Condé, said that he could not afford to pay for her funeral. The cost was defrayed by the Prince Regent, and the

funeral took place at night, at the Catholic chapel near Wimbledon. When she was fifty-three years old Goethe had described her as young, animated and joyful. From her first husband her grandson Honoré IV. married, as already explained, the only daughter of the Duke d'Aumont and (through her mother) became heir to the Mazarin family. From this union were born Honoré V. and Florestan I.

During the reign of Honoré III. efforts were made to encourage trade, especially the trade in lemons and citrons, which grew so plentifully on this coast. Later printing works were established, and the first newspaper, the *Courrier de Monaco*, was issued. The Chevalier de Grimaldi died in 1784, a severe loss for the prince and his people. Several distinguished men were born in the principality during this reign. Among others there was the composer Langlé, the master of Dalayrac; the celebrated sculptor Bosio, and his brother, a distinguished painter of historical scenes; Alphonse de Beauchamp, contributor to Michaud's "Universal Biography" and author of a history of Vendée. The Vignali family, one of whose members went to America before 1538, also flourished at this time. In 1770 a Vignali, whose master was the celebrated painter Raphael Mengs, won the prize of the French Academy of Painting.

CHAPTER VI

MONACO DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, THE FIRST AND SECOND EMPIRE

ON the principle, perhaps, of the calm before the storm, the reign of Honoré III. was now so peaceful that it provides no material for comment. One matter, perhaps, should be mentioned. The Prince of Monaco took the initiative in bringing about the abolition of the *droit d'Aubaine*, by which the sovereign receives the inheritance of any stranger dying on his lands. As there were many more French dying in Monaco than Monegasques dying in France this was a distinct loss to the prince, but he thought it a very inhuman practice, and at his request it was abolished by the Compiègne, the 18th of August 1770. The quietude now enjoyed continued until the fall of the Bastille (14th of July 1789); for Monaco did not escape the shock felt by the whole world. Here also the people proclaimed the Rights of Man. Tired of being subjects, they insisted on becoming citizens. They recalled the communal franchises enjoyed under the Genoese Republic; and, France being evidently about to declare herself Republican, were ready to follow her example. In the thunder of acclaim that heralded the birth of Democracy, Monaco could not remain silent. Like her French neighbours she was at first anxious not to injure her prince. He might continue to dwell in the palace, preserve the outward forms, even act as the executive power; but the policy to be followed, the laws to be enacted, must be decided by the duly elected representatives of a sovereign people.

At first Honoré III. felt it useless to attempt any

resistance, and consented to allow Roccabruna, Mentone and Monaco to elect representative councils. But of more personal concern to the prince was the abolition by the French National Constituent Assembly of all the feudal rights and privileges enjoyed by the aristocracy. The concessions made to his ancestors by the Treaty of Péronne, the Dukedom of Valentinois and many other large and valuable estates conferred on the Grimaldis when they drove out the Spaniards and allied themselves to France, were all to be confiscated. Honoré III., thoroughly alarmed by the progress of the French Revolution, began to issue edicts to restrict the freedom he had accorded to his own people. Such reactionary measures, coming within a year of the concessions made, destroyed confidence, and thus the prince imprudently drove his people to extremities. Instead of remaining on the spot to weather the storm and attend to the welfare of the principality he started off to Paris in the hope of saving his private fortune. He pointed out to the National Constituent Assembly that the property he possessed was not the gift of some capricious sovereign, but a reward for the services, the very substantial services, rendered by the Grimaldis to the French nation. So well did Prince Honoré establish his case that the Assembly decided that a fund should be created to pay to the princes of Monaco, in consideration of the estates taken from them, an annual pension of 273,786 livres (*i.e.* francs.)

Before this decision could be carried out came the 10th of August, and the people's cannon, dragged to the Place du Carrousel, shattered the crown and carried Danton into power.[1] On the following 22nd of September 1792 the French Republic was proclaimed. In the midst of all this turmoil the public mind had not much attention to spare for Honoré III. and the Grimaldi estates. Nevertheless, early in 1792, Honoré III. obtained from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs a formal

[1] *J'ai été porte au ministère par un boulet de canon.* Speech by Danton after the 10th August.

declaration that the neutrality of the principality would be respected. In practice, however, this proved but a pious wish. On the 15th of December 1792 the Convention, which now replaced the Constituent Assembly, decreed that when generals of the Republic entered a foreign territory they should establish free institutions on the French model. General Anselme having annexed Nice, the storm burst at Monaco. On the 13th of January 1793 the Monegasque National Convention passed a decree dethroning Prince Honoré. They then proceeded to ask General Brunet to forward to the French National Convention their petition, which set forth that the representatives of the Monegasque people had unanimously voted in favour of incorporation with the French Republic.

On the 14th of February 1793 Carnot presented to the Convention a report on the subject. In his speech Carnot acknowledged that the Prince of Monaco had always been a sincere friend and ally of France, and that, though now deprived of his prerogatives, he ought to obtain from the loyalty of the French people the protection and personal security to which, as a simple citizen, he was entitled. The Convention voted on the morrow and on the following 4th of March. The commissioners for the county of Nice, Jagot and the Abbé Grégoire, went to Monaco to notify the decree. By this act the Monegasque convention was dissolved, and the ancient principality incorporated in the department of the Alpes-Maritimes. During the debates in the French Parliament on the claims of the Prince of Monaco, M. Gombert, a deputé of the Left, made a remark which Napoleon I. afterwards plagiarised when speaking of the Pope. Citizen Gombert said: "It is quite certain that if Monsieur Monaco had two hundred thousand bayonets at his orders he would compel you to restore his property. If this be right, we must do it just as much as if he had the two hundred thousand bayonets."

Nevertheless, though the French Republic accepted the free gift of the principality—which was renamed

Fort Hercules—the prince was never paid the compensation decreed. On the contrary, the prince's wife, having fled from France, her property, consisting principally of a splendid mansion in the rue Saint-Dominique, was confiscated. It was this house that was made by the Commune in January, 1793, the headquarters of the large contingent of German volunteers who preferred to fight for Republican principles rather than for their own country.

On the 25th September 1793, at the height of the Terror, in spite of the money he had subscribed for patriotic purposes and the gift he had made of his horses to the Republican army, Prince Honoré III. was arrested under the "Law of Suspects." Even the voice of Carnot failed to save him. All the members of the family in France were arrested. The prince's eldest son (the Duke of Valentinois, subsequently Honoré IV.), who had never even left Paris, remained in prison fifteen months. At that time he was divorced from the Duchess of Mazarin, but she was also arrested and taken to the *Convent des Anglaises*. Dr Desormeaux, the family physician of the Grimaldis, at great peril, managed to secure an order for release and to remove her from the prison. He further contrived to conceal her and her son Florestan.

Joseph, the other son of Honoré III., had married, in 1782, Françoise-Thérèse de Choiseul-Stainville, who is described as a very charming woman. Early in the Revolution they sought security abroad, having confided their children to a person on whom they could rely. But long absence proved unendurable to the fond mother, and she returned to France to see her two daughters. At once arrested as a "suspect," she was promptly condemned to death for being a "declared enemy of the people; for having relations with the emigrants and communications with the enemies of the Republic; for supplying them with help and preparing, in complicity with tyrants of all sorts, criminal manœuvres having as their object the abolition of the national representation and the restoration of tyranny."

After her condemnation the princess announced that she was expecting to give birth to a child; her execution was therefore postponed. She then asked to see Fouquet-Tinville, the Attorney-General of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Pending his reply, she cut off her beautiful fair hair with a piece of broken glass, as a keepsake for her children. She then wrote to Fouquet-Tinville a second letter, which I venture to translate:

"I warn you, citizen, that I am not *enceinte* and wished to inform you of this fact personally. As I no longer hope you will come, I write. I did not befoul my mouth with this lie because I feared or wished to avoid death. I only desired to live one day more so as to have time to cut off my hair myself and avoid giving it to the executioner. It is the only legacy I can leave to my children and this at least must be pure.

"*Signed*: Choiseul-Stainville, Joseph Grimaldi-Monaco, a foreign princess dying through the injustice of French judges."

On the same day the order for her execution reached the prison. The princess asked for a little rouge, as she did not wish to look pale during the dismal ride in the tumbril. When guillotined the princess had not yet reached her twenty-seventh birthday.

Though most of the "suspects" were released after Thermidor, Honoré, as the father of an "emigrant," was still detained, and did not recover his liberty till the 5th of October 1794. Broken with age, infirmities and the hardships of his long incarceration, Honoré died six months later in his house in the rue de Varennes.

While the Grimaldis thus suffered, the people of Monaco were enjoying comparative quiet and peace. There were no acts of violence, no attempts to persecute "suspects" at Monaco. But if persons were respected, property did not fare so well. The prince's palace was sequestrated, and at first the work proceeded with some

order and system, an inventory being taken: but disorder and pillage followed, and the sumptuous furniture and treasures of art were scattered about, or sold for a trifle. At last this havoc was stopped and what remained stored in the chapel of the palace. The building itself was converted into a hospital, and received the sick and wounded from the republican armies in Italy. General Bonaparte had his headquarters for some time at Nice, and slept near Roccabruna on his way to Italy. Still, though war was general over Europe, it was not until the year 1800 that Monaco was directly involved.

A large quantity of ammunition had been gathered in the ancient fortress, but no troops were left to guard it. Consequently, on the 23rd of May 1800, an English frigate surprised the town. A landing party proceeded to seize all ammunition and carried off a few cannon. The unarmed townspeople could offer no resistance, and some were even forced to help in carrying powder casks to the ship. So carelessly was this done that a large quantity of powder was spilt on the road. But if there were no French troops at Monaco, there was a garrison at La Turbie, which did not fail to hasten down on perceiving an English ship in the harbour. As there were also French garrisons at Nice and Villefranche, the small English landing party could not have held out against them. It therefore retired to the ship. Irritated at being interrupted before they had collected all the spoils, the retreating English, it is supposed, set fire to the train of spilt powder. We must hope that this was ignited by accident, and not through any unworthy feeling of malice. However this may be, the flame followed the course of the spilt powder and reached the magazine. A frightful explosion ensued, resulting in the useless, cruel death of a number of women and children who had been attracted by curiosity to the spot. This was the last act of war taking place at Monaco. When the English attacked Bordighera, in 1813, the National Guard of Monaco were mobilised, but nothing occurred. The most important event at this period affecting

the fortunes of the principality was the construction of the celebrated Corniche road. Napoleon had insisted on a good thoroughfare to Italy, but the constructor had a wholesome fear of English frigates. The road therefore was built at a great height and some distance from the sea. Villefranche and Monaco were left in isolation, the way approaching the Mentone side of the principality. The work was begun in 1808, and terminated in April 1812. A ledge on the side of the mountains, sometimes cut in the solid rock, this wonderful and picturesque highway unites Nice with Genoa. As Antoine I. had built in 1720 a road from Monaco to Mentone, the Monegasque road was now joined to the great international Corniche road just above Cap Martin.

While the principality enjoyed comparative quiet, the Grimaldis found themselves reduced to the greatest straits. In vain they claimed the restitution of at least some part of their property: it was only after negotiations that lasted seven years that some small fragments were restored to the Duke of Valentinois and his brother Joseph. The latter had succeeded in procuring the omission of his name from the list of "emigrants" on the 10th Fructidor, year X., and under the Consulate and the Empire both Honoré and Joseph might have obtained good posts. Honoré, however, was suffering from a serious illness which compelled him to live in the quietest manner. Napoleon, now anxious to rally to his new *régime* persons of good family, offered Joseph Grimaldi a commission in the Imperial Guard. Rising quickly in favour, he became chamberlain to the Empress Josephine, and was known at the Imperial court as Monsieur de Monaco.

While the Duke of Valentinois was too ill to participate in current events, his eldest son, Honoré-Gabriel, born in 1778, enlisted at the age of twenty in a cavalry regiment. On the 13th Germinal, year VIII., he was promoted from the ranks to the position of sub-lieutenant; thus, like a true soldier, working his way up by the force of personal merit. Soon he was attached to the staff of

General Grouchy and honourably mentioned for his conduct at the brilliant victory of Hohenlinden, where he was wounded in the arm. The wound prevented his participation in the campaign of Austerlitz, but, attached to Murat's cavalry corps, he rendered eminent service in following up the victories of Jena and Auestaerdt. Grouchy describes how "*Mon aide-de-camp Monaco*," with a handful of cavalry, forced an entire battalion to surrender; and proposes that he should receive the star of the Legion of Honour and the rank of Captain. These and many other honours and rewards he did receive. The uncle of Honoré, Prince Joseph, on his side deserves great credit, for he refused to leave the service of the Empress Josephine. When she was divorced Napoleon wished to attach him to the person of the new empress, Louise, but Prince Joseph refused the honour and remained devoted to Josephine till her death.

The day of reaction was now at hand. The White Terror, which for cruelty, injustice, oppression was soon to earn a reputation as sinister as that of the Red Terror, had begun; but as its victims were drawn from the poorer section of the community less is said about it. By the White Terror the *ci-devant* owners of titles and privileges hoped to recover their lost property. They did not wholly succeed, but the Grimaldis were restored, not to their French estates, but to the principality of Monaco. When, in 1814, Louis XVIII. was placed on the throne of France by foreign bayonets, the powers assembled to parcel out Europe in such a manner as to efface, within the limits of the possible, what the French Revolution and the Empire had done. In fear of their lives, the people began to wear white cockades: but at Monaco, where no one had been victimised by the Red Terror, the people were much more afraid of being annexed by Sardinia. Therefore they did not hesitate to add red to their white cockades; and white and red are the colours of the Monegasque flag. Now that France was no longer a republic the people of Monaco demanded that their ancient independence should be restored.

Sardinia in the remodelling of the map of Europe was to receive the county of Nice, and this would doubtless have included Monaco but for the fact that Talleyrand was a personal friend of the Grimaldis. Perhaps for this reason, perhaps because he thought Monaco might serve as a wedge in the side of Italy, he wrote in pencil on the margin of a draft project, that ultimately became the Treaty of Paris, the words "and the Prince of Monaco will be restored to his State" ("*rentrera dans ses Etats*"). In the treaty signed in May 1814 these words appear in Paragraph 8: "which renounces all French authority over or possession of the county of Nice," and ends by saying: "the Principality of Monaco being, however, replaced in the position and relationships in which it found itself before the 1st of January 1792." This was equivalent to restoring the stipulations of the Treaty of Péronne, and now, after twenty-two years of exile, the Grimaldis were free to return to their principality. But Honoré IV. was too old and too ill to assume the cares of state, so he appointed his brother, Joseph, to reign in his stead. Joseph, however, lingered in Paris, and M. de Millo-Terrazzani acted as governor in his absence. In the meanwhile the son of Honoré IV. protested against the appointment of his uncle. After a family dispute Joseph withdrew, and Honoré IV. delegated his son, Honoré-Gabriel, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the Imperial army, to reign over the principality.

Shortly after he left Cannes the post-chaise of the hereditary prince was stopped by some soldiers, among whom Prince Honoré-Gabriel recognised General Cambronne. The prince was conducted to an olive grove, and there confronted with Napoleon, who had just escaped from the island of Elba. The interview was cordial. "Where are you going?" inquired the Emperor. "I am going home to Monaco," replied the prince. "And so am I," said the Emperor—"home to the Tuileries." They went, but the prince remained longer at home than did Napoleon.

As Saige in his history puts it: "The disaster of Waterloo followed and then a new treaty, in virtue of which France was made to expiate by further losses of territory the heroic folly of the Hundred Days." Sardinia of course claimed her share of this definite victory of the Allies. The Treaty of Vienna (20th November 1815) says in the Fourth Section of its First Article: "The relations re-established by the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May 1814, between France and the Principality of Monaco, will cease finally," and: "These same relations shall exist between this Principality and the King of Sardinia." During three centuries, the princes of Monaco, to maintain the independence of their state, had of their own free will invited the protection, first of Spain, then of France. Now Europe, without consulting them, forced upon them the protection of their old enemy, Sardinia. This put an end to the free trade with France which had been so advantageous to the principality; and its reigning princes, ruined by the French Revolution, could no longer enrich the state by their prodigality.

Honoré-Gabriel went to Turin in the hope of obtaining favourable commercial conditions. He was received with great honour, but nothing else was done for him. On the contrary, he was forced to promise the abolition of the tobacco manufactory which Honoré III. had established in Monaco. This was an important source of local revenue. Other conditions were imposed by Sardinia, all tending to impoverish the Monegasques. Yet at the same time the prince claimed a civil list of £12,000, three times as much as Honoré III. had obtained from his states. To produce this sum Honoré-Gabriel imposed numerous taxes, and this in a most reckless and injudicious manner. He created undesirable monopolies, among them a flour monopoly, with the result that only very bad and very dear bread could be obtained in Monaco. And to those who endeavoured to represent to him how much harm he was doing he made himself so unpleasant that no one ventured to tell him the truth.

In 1819 Honoré IV. died, and Honoré-Gabriel—now known as Honoré V.—continued in his own name the same methods of government as he had practised during the previous four years in his father's name. After Waterloo and the Treaty of Vienna, all that was liberal, democratic or advanced seemed to be crushed and annihilated. The cause of reaction appeared to triumph in all directions. Yet in the most unlikely country democratic ideas suddenly rose to the surface. The example was set by the Cortes of Spain, and in Naples and in Piedmont were heard riotous demands for constitutional and liberal government. Ground down by over-taxation, the Monegasques now thought of revolting. The rising, however, was so promptly suppressed by the Sardinian authorities that Honoré V. was lulled into a false security.

It would be interesting to study in detail the reign of Honoré V. He is one of the best-abused princes that ever reigned over the principality. His manners were against him; but perhaps his chief fault was that of being in advance of his age. Practically, his policy consisted of supplementing the lack of State revenues by the organisation of State industries. He attempted to establish a lace factory and a workshop for straw-plaiting and hat-making. He studied deeply the condition of the poor, recognised that they had the right to beg and claimed freedom for the pauper, more sinned against than sinning. He urged that begging must be abolished by providing beggars with useful productive employment, and that, above all, they should be set to work on the land. It was cruel, he thought, to imprison beggars in mendicity depots: they should be grouped in free and fruitful co-operative associations. In a word, it strikes me forcibly that Honoré V. was a State socialist, or at any rate a gas-and-water, municipal-enterprise socialist, and that to-day his views would have been better appreciated. He died in 1841, by which time he had become extremely unpopular, and left behind him only the memory of what are characterised

as tyrannical institutions. Yet Saige writes his epitaph as follows:—"Here lies one who wished to do good."[1]

Honoré V. had no children, and, much against his inclination, his brother Florestan was obliged to assume the task of governing an over-taxed and dissatisfied people. His position was the more difficult as he found only passive agents: no one was capable of making a suggestion. He attempted to promote better education, started higher schools and founded asylums for the poor, endeavouring to provide free work and free feeding. But he made himself unpopular by restricting free teaching. With 1848 the approach of the revolutionary movement increased his alarm, and Florestan sought the protection of Sardinian troops, thus sapping his own independence. As usual in such cases, concessions were made to popular clamour when the agitation had become too great to be pacified by such means. All this time the Sardinians were stimulating the dissatisfaction in the hope of ultimately seizing the principality for themselves. Indeed, the Sardinian troops openly encouraged the manifestations which it was their business to suppress. Then, as Charles-Albert, the new King of Sardinia, had granted some liberal reforms to his own people, the inhabitants of the principality began to think they might be better off if annexed by Sardinia. Skilful agents in the principality fanned the discontent and turned the minds of the people towards Sardinia as a possible saviour.

Florestan, now assisted by his son, Prince Charles, worked, negotiated, made promises, changed his mind, contradicted himself and, in short, sought a solution in all directions. Finally, when Sardinia sent troops under General Gonnet to protect Florestan they were met with cheers for their country and their king. Soldiers and people fraternised. And now, to make matters worse, the Revolution broke out in Paris. Charles-Albert with his constitution was perhaps the only popular king in Europe at that time. Mentone and Roccabruna formed a National

[1] "Ci gît qui voulut faire le bien."

E.M.P.H.

Guard; hoisted the Sardinian flag; claimed and obtained the protection of Charles-Albert. The Sardinian garrison returned. By 568 votes for and none against Sardinia was requested to annex Mentone and Roccabruna. The absence of any opposition suggests that the vote was not sincere. Doubtless Sardinia would now have annexed the entire principality but for the defeat of the Sardinians by the Austrians at the battle of Novare in 1849. Besides, there were some protests from France. Therefore Mentone and Roccabruna were constituted free towns, and at Monaco hopes were still entertained that they would return to their allegiance to the Grimaldis. Indeed, in 1854, Prince Charles of Monaco went to Mentone, in the expectation that the people, having by that time acquired some experience of Sardinian protection, would rise in his favour. Though at first acclaimed, he did not receive sufficient support, and was arrested.

Through French intervention Prince Charles was released, and perhaps more would have been done by Napoleon III. for Monaco had not Sardinia joined the Allies in the Crimean war. In April 1856, at the Congress of Paris, when M. de Cavour complained that a part of the Roman states was occupied by Austrian troops, M. de Hubner retorted that the Italians were occupying Mentone and Roccabruna. The Sardinian plenipotentiary therefore declared that the Italians were ready to withdraw from the Monegasque principality. The insertion of this statement in the official minutes did not, however, make any alteration in the actual situation, and the Sardinians remained in virtual occupation.

During the same year Florestan I. died. He was succeeded by his son, Charles III., at that time thirty-seven years old. He seems from the first to have governed with a firmer hand and to have kept the Sardinians in their place. The whole question, however, was soon to be definitely settled as one of the consequences of the war waged by France against Austria on behalf of Italy.

By the Treaty of Turin (24th March 1860), Italy made over Nice and Savoy to France. Thus Monaco automatically returned to French protection. The Sardinian garrison was obliged to evacuate the principality. Negotiations were at once opened; and, the population of Mentone and Roccabruna having voted by a large majority in favour of union with France, Charles III. gave up his rights over these towns on the 2nd of February 1861. The French Government on its side paid Prince Charles an indemnity of £160,000. Thus the principality was reduced to one-fifth of its former size.

In such circumstances Prince Charles could not hope to play such a part in European affairs as his ancestors had done on more than one occasion. Some other form of activity must be devised, and soon he discovered that the future of the principality depended upon its development as a pleasure and health resort. With this ends the past history of the principality, and we reach its modern life and resources. But before closing this page of history I would summarise the last two reigns by translating a scene from Victorien Sardou's celebrated play *Rabagas*. Making allowance for literary licence this play is wonderfully true to life, and most of the incidents mentioned historical. The humorous manner of their presentation brings home the situation more graphically than do the solemn pages of ponderous historical works. The version before me is that of the Sixth Edition, published in 1872 (page 27).

EVA

No; on the contrary, let us talk about it. Is it then so very complicated, the government of Monaco?

THE PRINCE

Oh, it is on the contrary, simplicity itself. No Ministry, no House of Parliament! All the civil and military administration is in the hand of a Governor, who is the chief of the Cabinet, and indeed the Cabinet itself. And

above this Governor there is myself—that is to say, I am an unfortunate little sovereign crushed between two big neighbours who only hesitate as to the sauce with which they shall devour me . . . but my safety being thus guaranteed, by this mutual gluttony, I can remain neutral.

EVA

That's good.

THE PRINCE

Only, I am forced by the treaty of 1817 to tolerate a Sardinian garrison at Mentone—which protects me!

EVA

Well?

THE PRINCE

Till the first riot occurs—then it will support the rioters.

EVA

Oh! for shame!

THE PRINCE

That is all. It is quite an established order of things. You will see. I succeed my brother, Honoré V., and arrive here bubbling over with ideas of liberty, of progress, of reforms!

EVA

Yes?

THE PRINCE

And I begin with the *monacos*. You have doubtless heard about the *monacos*?

EVA

Yes; copper coins.

THE PRINCE

The pennies.

EVA

Why yes, while I was still a little girl, nobody would have them.

THE PRINCE

That's it. But please note that these coins were worth quite as much as any other coins. But the French are terrible people. The first Frenchman asked to accept Monaco money burst out laughing, and all the others have laughed in chorus ever since. So all our copper coins are coming back to us bearing a vague odour of false coinage. You must understand that such a——

EVA

Yes, of course, it does not add to the prestige of the dynasty.

THE PRINCE

I suppressed the *monacos*. Then came the bread monopoly, etc., etc. In short, the more I improved and perfected, the more the people grumbled.

EVA

Naturally.

THE PRINCE

But I held my ground till the unfortunate olive business.

EVA

Olives!

THE PRINCE

Yes. I ask your pardon, I am worrying you with my little troubles.

EVA

Oh no! Oh no! Please continue. This local cooking and gossip is very interesting. We had got to the olives.

THE PRINCE

Well, then, the olives; or, to speak more accurately, the olive oil, which is the wealth of this country. But we make it so badly, with such antique methods, that it is not as good as the oil of Provence. So I import two

admirable English oil-mills and invite my subjects to send me their olives to grind. At once I am accused of an arbitrary proceeding. Therefore I buy the olives and convert them into oil myself. Then the cry is raised that I am creating a monopoly. I suppress the mills and restore everything to its pristine state: I am accused of encouraging stagnation and routine.

EVA

Oh! Oh!

THE PRINCE

So I give up the idea of realising industrial reforms.

EVA

I quite believe you.

THE PRINCE (*standing*)

And from that day begins between my subjects and myself a sullen struggle that has slowly developed into a state of ferocious hostility.

EVA (*standing*)

Ferocious?

THE PRINCE

You have certainly seen unhappy unions in which whatever the one does the other is sure to find fault with. Well, the one is myself and the other is my people. All my acts are criticised, misrepresented and travestied with skill and art! Take a few examples. I go for a walk: it is found that I have a lot of time to idle away. I do not go for a walk: then I am afraid of showing myself. I give a ball: I am accused of wild extravagance. I do not give a ball: I am meanly avaricious. I hold a review: I am attempting military intimidation. I do not hold a review: I am evidently afraid, and cannot trust the troops. Some fireworks are let off on my birthday: I am wasting the people's money in smoke. I suppress the fireworks: then I do nothing for the

amusement of the people. I am in good health: that is because I am so idle and take so little trouble over public matters. I am in bad health: that is the result of debauchery. I build—wastefulness. I do not build—then what about the working classes? In fact, I am no longer able to eat, sleep or keep awake as I may think fit. Everything I do must be proclaimed as detestable, and all that I do not do gives even greater offence.

EVA

But that is not a life.

CHAPTER VII

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

PRINCE ALBERT I. was born on the 13th of November 1848, and is therefore old enough to remember something of those dark days when his family had to endure many hardships and poverty. During the year of his birth Mentone and Roccabruna revolted against Prince Florestan I., his grandfather, and declared their independence. Eight years later Florestan I. died, and Prince Albert I. has not forgotten the funeral. This fact, of no particular importance in itself, I ascertained when an occasion occurred for showing the prince the following interesting extracts concerning his family. They are taken from the "Recollections of a Parisian," by Dr Poumiès de la Siboutie (John Murray, 1911):—

"June 11th, 1856.—I spent a portion of to-day with Florestan I., Prince of Monaco, who has been my dear friend for the past forty years. His wife and mine were at school together, and have always kept up their old intimacy.

"I fear the poor prince is very ill, and cannot live much longer. He said to me:—'I loathe the title of Prince. I have forbidden its use in my household and among my friends. Many absurd stories have been told about me. They say I was a "super" at a theatre, which is partly true and partly false; I had theatrical employment for four years, but only appeared in minor parts. I was successively at the *Théâtre de la Cité*, the *Théâtre du Marais* and the *Ambigu*. We played all kinds of pieces; classical, modern, melodrama, light comedy. I used to

play young lovers and was a favourite with audiences; they liked my voice and cultured intonation. I could make my points good, and above all I looked a gentleman. I played under my own name of Florestan; you will find it in old playbills, also in the newspapers of the day. I had a great many favourable notices. My passion for theatrical matters has never died out. I would have a theatre of my own to-morrow, but for the determined opposition of my family. I have been brought into contact with leading actors of the day and have enjoyed familiar friendship with them. There are no better fellows anywhere, nor cheerier company. I have written a great deal, memoirs, comedies, verses, travels, etc.—but somehow I have never published. After my death my successors may do what they like with the stuff. I am quite indifferent.'

"These things were said at odd times when the subjects concerned came up in conversation."

"Wednesday, June 25th.—I attended the funeral of Florestan I. to-day. The chief mourners were his son Charles and a little grandson who clung to his father's hand. People are gossiping because the *lettres de faire part* are written in the names of these two only, ignoring the three ladies of the family."

The little grandson who clung to his father's hand was the present ruling Prince of Monaco; and Prince Albert said he still remembered the scene, though rather vaguely. The other details he had no doubt were true, and read them with much interest. They were new to him, the prince explained, because in his young days it was the fashion not to speak of having to earn one's living. It was considered a humiliation to be forced to work. Therefore he was never told that his grandfather had been an actor, but he knew he had a good deal to do with the stage, and the family still possessed many portraits collected by Prince Florestan of great actors. Prince Albert remembered notably a fine picture of Talma.

Though the account of his grandfather's acting was new to him he had no doubt as to its accuracy, for when driven out of Monaco by the Revolution, and after the confiscation of all their estates, several members of his family had to work for their living. He was proud to think they had so far succeeded, so as to be able to give their children a good education.

The harshness of this past experience must of course have affected Prince Charles III. much more deeply than Albert I., as he lived nearer to the great revolutionary upheaval. Then, as it all terminated in the reduction of the principality to one-fifth its former size, it may well be understood that Charles III. was driven to accept counsels of despair. Now that the greater part of the lemon and olive groves of the principality were handed over to France it might well be said:

"Monaco io sono
Un scoglio
Del mio non ho
Quello d'altrui non toglio
Pur viver voglio."

Which may be translated:

"I am Monaco, a stray rock.
I do not produce anything,
I do not plunder the good of others,
And yet I intend to live."

Never has a determination been more successfully accomplished. Monaco, with its five square miles of territory, had now become the smallest of the remaining very little, though independent, states. The grand duchy of Luxemburg has 1000 square miles; the republic of Andorra in the Pyrenees measures 175 square miles; Liechtenstein, which both Germany and Austria have agreed to respect, covers 90 square miles; and the republic of San Marino, established sixteen hundred years ago in the north-east of Italy, has only 30

square miles. Thus Monaco, with but five square miles, is far and away the smallest of them all. Nevertheless it has so managed its affairs that it has outstepped every other country, large or small, in the rapid acquisition of wealth. In proportion to its native population, no other nation possesses such revenues, nor can any country dispense with taxation. Yet within living memory great poverty prevailed. On the wild promontory of Spélugnes—a word that means caves used for burial purposes, but which has now been converted into Monte Carlo—shepherds conducted flocks to graze on wild herbs. In the Condamine flowers were grown principally for Mr Rimmel, whose very name smells sweet to the London frequenter of the Strand. Beautiful fruits grew readily, but there was no direct carriage road to Nice and no cheap means of exporting what could be grown.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising if Charles III. was attracted by the increasing prosperity of the landgraviate of Hesse-Homburg, a small principality like his own. Before Monsieur François Blanc appeared on the scene, members of the court at Monaco had marvelled at the untold gold that came from all parts of the world to be thrown on the tables at Wiesbaden and Baden-Baden. But there were valuable mineral springs at Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden and Homburg; many invalids derived benefit from them, and this was a sufficient pretext to build casinos, with their accompaniment of amusements and their source of revenue, the roulette and *trente-et-quarante* tables.

At Monaco there were no valuable mineral springs. On the other hand there was the marvellous climate and most beautiful scenery. Not far off, at Cannes, Lord Brougham had taught the highest classes of English society to appreciate the advantages of wintering on the Riviera. Also to escape the rigour of the Northern winter was thought, in those days, one of the most efficient means of checking the development of pulmonary tuberculosis. But at Nice, Cannes, Hyères and Mentone

there was no seaport, nothing to compare with the Port of Hercules at Monaco, where holiday people and patients could bathe in all security. The port terminated in a beautiful shallow sandy beach, though very deep at its entrance. Here in the olden days the galley safely grounded on the soft shore; and it must have been admirably suited for bathing when in the Condamine there were only gardens and no sewers to empty into the port.

Therefore, in the days of Charles III., it was thought that such sea-baths, combined with chalybeate waters, to be found in the immediate neighbourhood, would have an excellent effect in the treatment of various forms of bone disease. But just as Homburg remained, practically speaking, unknown and unfrequented till the enterprise of M. François Blanc made it a resort of world-wide fame, so also Monaco, in spite of its brilliant sunshine, might continue to remain in the shade. M. Henri Métivier, who may be described as the Court Historian, gives some account of the attitude of Prince Charles at that time, and of the arguments which were then considered acceptable. On page 298, vol. ii., he says:

"It seems therefore that Nature had herself indicated what the principality of Monaco should henceforth become. This the prince understood. In 1856 he gave a concession to a joint stock company granting to them the privilege of establishing a sea-bathing station with all the accessories, among which would be a casino with a lessee for games analogous to those of Germany.

"As a matter of principle, we do not approve of gaming houses, and the governments who suppress them act wisely. Established in large centres of population, they constitute a permanent excitement, stimulating the spirit of cupidity, and bring about the demoralisation and ruin of the unfortunate people who, attracted by the false hope of gain, press passionately round the green baize. But when such games are established a long way from the large towns, and when the distance is such that the cost of the

journey can only be met by rich foreigners, one may accord them the benefit of extenuating circumstances, for they do bring an element of prosperity amid the native population, who are themselves severely excluded from the gaming saloons. Such are the conditions enforced at Monaco; everything is so arranged as to safeguard the morals and the money of the inhabitants, while conferring on them the material advantages resulting from the sojourn in their midst of numerous tourists."

Such already was the frame of mind of the Government a few years before M. François Blanc appeared upon the scene. It is not surprising therefore if he readily obtained the concession for which he was prepared to pay handsomely. Nor is it strange that he so improved the place as to render some of the above arguments no longer applicable; for to-day it is the great number of cheap trippers rather than the few very rich visitors who provide the largest source of revenue. The improvement, though some may challenge the word, was also so rapid that it may well be compared with the mushroom growth of cities in the middle or far west of the United States. Thus the Rey family was easily able to buy up all the Condamine during the Revolution, and subsequently sold it to a M. Arnoux, wine merchant from Marseilles. How little value was attached to this land may be gathered from the fact that M. Arnoux had much difficulty in selling a villa and 106,000 square metres, or about 127,200 square yards, of gardens for £2520. In the whole of the Condamine, and up to the year 1868, there existed only three or four dwellings. Yet ten years later we already read that a beautiful avenue of trees had been replaced by a street of twenty houses, that there were actually some gas lamps, and so many villas, and even shops and cafés, that people began to talk of the gardens of the Condamine as a "centre," or a town. The land of the whole district, with its violets, which Rimmel farmed out for £1000 a year, was estimated in 1858 as worth about

Early structures about 1870 at Monte Carlo

Villa Camille (the Casino)

£20,000. Twenty years later its value had increased to £400,000.

Of course this great change was brought about not only by M. François Blanc and his casino, but by the building of a main line of railway which, running from Marseilles to Genoa, passed straight through the principality. What this meant is graphically depicted in the *Annuaire* or official annual register of the principality for the year 1878. The passage appears on page 134:

"The intelligent barbarians who failed to respect the beautiful trees of the Condamine were not likely to stop even before the vale of St Dévote, this marvel of the picturesque. Over this small but incomparable site the railway—another diabolical invention—has built an impertinent viaduct. Then a speculator came to trouble the repose of this asylum. Without a tinge of remorse he has bought a piece of the rock and promptly built a pretty villa on it which he called *Colombe* (dove), probably thinking he would thereby appease the saint. Then without acknowledging the necessity of any sort of restraint he built two cottages and a large hotel in the immediate neighbourhood. The ground on which he raised all these constructions had not cost him more than £48, but the Paris-Lyon and Mediterranean Co. wanted a very small portion and he sold it to them for £2800."

Of Monte Carlo more wonderful stories are told. It was in 1860 that the first attempts were made to build a casino on the Spélugnes, some land having been bought there by the promoters for a very small price from Count Rey. In the hope of inducing people to live on this desert, free gifts of land were offered to those who undertook to build on such land. Nevertheless many refused to take for nothing land which to-day is as valuable as that of Bond Street, or of the Boulevards des Italiens. In 1863 M. Blanc acquired the property and rights of the previous casino companies. M. Marie de Saint-Germain, who

established himself for his health at Monaco in 1860, and was a witness of the transformation scene, wrote in 1875 :

"That which was most arid has become fertile, the desert is peopled, the bare rock has become an immense bouquet. Civilisation with all its luxuries has embellished this solitude. Large avenues bordered with green trees and white houses stretch forth in all directions over this superb tableland ; veritably a green jewel held tightly in a frame of mountains."

Whether such rapid and mighty changes have proved an unmixed blessing may well be considered more than doubtful. Speaking to some of the oldest inhabitants, I found they constantly expressed regret, and were fond of denouncing modern extravagances and follies. Commandant Castaldi, who belonged to one of the oldest families of the principality, told me how he remembered when all the country around was devoted to the cultivation of flowers for the scent factories and not for ornament. Before that, lemons and olives were the chief source of revenue. " How beautiful it was in those days," said the old Monegasque ; " a dream that no young person can possibly imagine." In April anybody who was not accustomed to the place would draw back if he approached too near the gardens of the Condamine. The odour of the flowers would overcome him. There were the orange blossoms especially. They were not cultivated for the oranges, but the essence the neroli used as scent or to drink as orange flower water. In the month of May the young girls and boys went out into the country to collect vast quantities of flowers and make hoops and garlands with them. Then they danced and sang within a framework of flowers. This lasted all the month of May. It was poetical, pretty ; there was real luxury of colour, perfume, beauty, yet it did not cost anything unless it were a few pence to buy string to tie up the flowers.

The children had no money, but each season had its

games, and nature supplied the toys. There was so much fruit that everyone could make his own jam and have plenty of fruit remaining to feed even the cattle. Fruits only cost the trouble of picking them. Boatmen would come from Nice and pay not more than five or six francs to have their boats filled with fruit. It was the labour of bringing the fruit rather than its value they paid for. One of the most popular games for the children was to play with fruit stones and almonds. They would shake the trees and stamp on the fruit for the sake of the stones. Even luscious peaches were treated in this way. The stones could keep, were easily packed on mules or donkeys, and be driven over to Nice, where they could be sold. Of course labour was cheap, and a man would be very glad to go to Mentone and back for half-a-franc.

In the Condamine, on the edge of the port, where the bathing establishment was subsequently built, there were sheds used by men who worked at cleaning lemons and making boxes to pack them. In the port three-mast sailing ships came all the way from America to fetch these lemons. Some ships of course went to Sicily and other places also renowned for this fruit. In all this it will be seen there was only agricultural labour. If a youth in the principality was gifted with more than usual intelligence, and had acquired some education, he would be obliged to go to Toulon or some other large town to get suitable employment. Many Monegasques thus held high positions in Italy or in France.

It seems curious that persons are still living who remember the time when little could be done here and the educated were obliged to seek positions abroad. To-day, on the contrary, any number of people flock from France and Italy to obtain work in the principality, so great and rapid has been its development and progress. But its supreme beauty has gone. Instead of an incomparable garden we have a clustering crowd of villas, hotels and houses of doubtful architecture. Where the flowers and fruit trees cling lovingly to the rocks, dynamite has blown

the romantic crags away to form level terraces on which box-shaped dwellings have been built.

Speaking on this subject to another old inhabitant, the well-known professor of painting, an artist, M. Fontain, I asked him whether it would be possible to have a Minister of Fine Arts, whose mission would consist in preventing ugliness. M. Fontain replied that undoubtedly the country was no longer so beautiful. Rich gardens and noble trees were replaced by horrible buildings; but business men would crush anyone who attempted to prevent this. Money always went first. No artistic plea could stand against money. If a building could be made to pay, what attention would be given to the lamentations of a few artists? Such masses of masonry give forth sewage and household refuse where formerly we had but the sweet scent of blossoms and full-flavoured fruit. But this is progress. Large fortunes are made amid the ruin of venerable plants, of luxurious vegetation, the obliteration of the picturesque and the effacement of many less successful speculators.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVENUE OF THE PRINCE AND THE PRINCIPALITY

BEFORE attempting any further description of the transformation the principality has undergone during recent years, the financial resources that render such changes possible must be described. In the Treaty with France of the 2nd February 1861, Charles III. had the foresight to introduce some important stipulations. He surrendered his claim on Mentone and Roccabruna, which henceforth became French and are now called Menton and Roquebrune, communes in the New French Department of the Alpes-Maritimes. In the same way *Nizza la Bella* has become *Nice la Belle*. His territory, thus reduced, it was evident could not suffice for the sustenance of his subjects. If they were to live at all, this must be through relations and communication with outside sources of revenue. Therefore Prince Charles, by Article V. of the Treaty, carefully stipulated that France should maintain, at its own cost and in good condition, the road between Monaco and Menton and its junction with the Corniche road. For the other side of the principality he insisted that a carriage road, even at the cost of cutting through hard rock, should be built close to the shore from Monaco to Beaulieu, Villefranche and Nice. The Franco-German War retarded the execution of this clause of the treaty, and the beautiful, picturesque road from Monaco to Nice was only completed in 1881. Of course the opening of railway communications would prove even more useful, but all these facilities might have led to serious trouble if a customs, postal and telegraphic union had not been concluded with France. This convention is dated the 9th

November 1865. Monaco might have become a smuggling centre. Now all goods brought to Monaco by sea have to pay the same duty as if they were landed in France, and the duty is collected by French custom-house officials. But Monaco stands to lose for what comes by land, especially by railway. To reach Monaco all such goods pass through France, and there pay duty. Tea, for instance, is very heavily taxed, and is sold retail for twice the price charged in England. As this is paid at the French frontier, if we drink tea at Monaco we contribute to the revenue of the French and not to the Monegasque Government. Nevertheless this sacrifice was preferable to the establishment of an *octroi* or any sort of local dues which would interfere with the freest access to the principality.

By reason of their climate, their beautiful scenery and marvellous semi-tropical vegetation, Nice, Cannes, Hyères and Menton were beginning to attract rich foreigners, who came to these choice spots to escape the Northern winter. But Monaco is more beautiful than any of these places. It is as well sheltered and its climate in some respects superior, only there were no suitable hotels, and no native Monegasque had the slightest idea of what should be done to attract and cater for wealthy foreign visitors. M. François Blanc at Homburg had however proved that he was the greatest of experts in this respect. On the other hand, M. Giraud, a close friend of the late Prince Florestan, had already suggested to Prince Charles that a casino, where gambling was allowed, would certainly attract many people, and thus save the country from terrible poverty. Not very far off, Cavour had just prohibited gambling at Aix-les-Bains on the ground that it was ruining the Savoyard nobility. Perhaps things might be better managed at Monaco, and some frequenters of Aix-les-Bains attracted. In any case, a casino might save the country, and nothing else seemed so likely to achieve this desirable end. It was determined, however, and from the very first, to keep a strict control over the casino and make sure that some of

MONACO TOWN AND ROCK

the money made was spent for the public good and not all kept for private profit.

A few foreign visitors began to arrive, and among them there was Prince William of Wurtemberg, who was subsequently created Duke of Urach. He was a widower, but his first wife, a daughter of Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, had left him a child, the Princess Mary. For several years Prince William wintered at Monaco, as the climate benefited his daughter. An intimacy sprang up between him and the Grimaldi family, which resulted in his marrying Princess Florestine, the sister of Prince Charles III. The wedding took place on the 15th February 1863. After the direct descendants of Prince Charles, the offspring of this union would be the next heirs to the principality. The prospect that a German prince, a member of the Royal House of Wurtemberg, should reign at Monaco has caused no small amount of trepidation and anxiety in France. This, however, is a political and not a financial question, though the advent of the Prince of Wurtemberg was the beginning of the flow of distinguished personages which were soon to enrich the principality.

Nothing, however, could equal in its immediate and immense effect the opening of the railway from Nice to Menton. The great difficulties of construction were at last overcome, and the railway was opened on the 25th October 1868. It soon became evident that an era of prosperity was commencing. In his youth, Charles III. had seen the people of the principality rise in rebellion against the heavy taxes they were then compelled to pay. Nevertheless he determined to win back the heart of his people, and he was also anxious to produce a good effect in Europe. Consequently, as soon as the increased revenues rendered the measure possible, Charles III. abolished with one stroke of the pen all direct taxation. The population of course was delighted, and Europe saw that the ancient house of Grimaldi was not enriching itself from the profits made at the casino. The decree liberating all the

inhabitants of the principality from taxation was signed on the 8th February 1869.

Much depends on a clear understanding of the situation thus created. It is not possible to estimate, at its true value, what has been done, unless we also realise what means were available. The Grimaldi family were deprived of their estates and reduced to poverty during the great Revolution; but they ultimately recovered a little of their former property, which they administered with skill and with profit. Then in 1861, when Charles III. ceded Menton and Roquebrune to France, he received compensation to the amount of £160,000. This was of service in reconstituting the fortunes of the Grimaldis.

As for the Budget of the principality, nothing could have been more simple. The prince received everything, paid for everything, and had no account to render. It would be difficult to say what was the cost of government, and even to-day we know that much more is spent for the public good than is recorded on any balance-sheet. Obviously the casino has now become the chief source of revenue. As alterations have been made from time to time the share of the public burdens borne by the casino has increased, but the principle being the same throughout, it will suffice to describe the actual situation. For the monopoly which it enjoys the casino pays £50,000 yearly to the reigning prince. On the first £1,000,000 of gross receipts it further pays to the prince 3 per cent., or £30,000. On the gross receipts above the first 25,000,000 francs it pays 5 per cent. Thus, to give the position in round figures, and if we estimate the gross receipts of the casino at 40,000,000 francs, or £1,600,000, it would pay first the annual fixed charge of £50,000, then 3 per cent. on the first £1,000,000 of receipts—*i.e.* £30,000; and 5 per cent. on the £600,000 further receipts, making £30,000 more—in all, £110,000. But, over and above these fixed contributions, the casino voluntarily incurs all manner of other expenses that are to the public benefit. Thus it has recently contributed £24,000 towards the

construction of a new thoroughfare, the Boulevard de l'Observatoire. By the force of circumstances the administration of the casino had to take in hand a number of public services which the simple folks who then lived in the principality were quite incapable of understanding. Thus, as streets were built, where there used to be olive or lemon groves, the casino administration had to organise the scavengering and lay the first sewers. They had to establish gas-works, and undertook a great part of the duties that should have been performed by a municipality. They were like colonists opening up a new country, and had to do everything themselves, for there were barely any inhabitants, except in the old town of Monaco. Thus the casino pays more for public purposes than appears on the Budget; and all that the casino is credited with giving is also spent on the public.

The following is the Budget for 1912 :—

		Francs
A.	Ordinary Receipts :—	
	Public Services, Monopolies and *Régies* .	1,850,250
	Dues from the Companies . . .	2,217,900
	Divers Receipts	646,469
		4,714,619
B.	Extraordinary Receipts	300,000
		5,014,619

This is a total receipt of £200,580. Of this sum the public pays about £35,000 in the form of custom-house dues and other indirect taxation imposed to prevent Monaco differing from France. The principality could do without this money, and this form of indirect taxation is imposed only for the sake of keeping at peace with its powerful neighbour. Also, as this tax is levied on articles of consumption, such as tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, wheat, etc., the visitors consume more than the inhabitants, and therefore contribute the larger part of the £35,000.

Where the inhabitants really do pay is in respect to

legal costs, stamps and fees for acts, agreements, marriages, mortgages, land transfer, etc. These charges may be considered as a form of direct taxation, but they only affect those persons who have need of such transactions. As, however, there is so much business done, and prosperity prevails, this form of taxation brings in a good deal, something like another £30,000.

Now that there is the semblance of a Constitution, public account is given as to the receipts and expenditure. There has been created from the Private Domain a Public Domain. The latter is a free gift from the prince to his subjects, and consists of the buildings devoted to municipal services and other public buildings such as churches, schools, and all that is required for the public administration. But the prince keeps as his Private Domain the squares and roads. This was necessary because the principal roads are international, and for diplomatic reasons must remain the private property of the prince, so that he may carry out the obligations which, as sole ruler, he contracted with other nations.

The Budget is divided into two parts. First we have the "Consolidated Services," which comprise all the expenditure of the prince's Government, the upkeep of the palace, the donations, the pensions, the cost of government, of diplomatic representation, of police, of justice, and other analogous services. The second half is called the House or Interior Services, and comprises municipal outlay, public works, public education and fine arts, hospitals, hygiene and poor relief. It is this latter half of the Budget to which the National Council, the newly constituted representative and elected body, is invited to discuss and criticise.

In regard to the ruling prince, there is of course no Civil List. A Civil List implies that the Chief of the State has not enough money to govern the country, and therefore asks his subjects to make him an allowance. The first time this happened was in England, at the restoration, in 1660, of Charles II. Having been deprived of all resources

by the English revolution, he had to ask the English Parliament to vote him a Civil List. Though also dethroned and deprived of all their resources by the French and Monegasque revolutions, the Grimaldis managed better, and this even before the casino came to their aid.

To-day in England, Italy, Prussia, Spain, Belgium, the republics of Switzerland, France, the United States, and in many other countries, the people pay taxes, elect Parliaments, and these bodies, representing the taxpayers, decide how much shall be given to the Chief of the State. It is the people who pay for the Civil List and decide what the amount shall be. In Monaco the exact opposite is the case. The people are liberated from all burdens. They are exempt from military service and from taxation. Instead of asking for a Civil List the prince pays for everybody, and of late allows a certain amount of criticism on the part of elected representatives. With the £50,000 regular payment made to him annually by the casino, the prince just manages to defray the cost of government, including all the salaries, from that of the Minister of State down to the humblest policeman. Adding to this the other necessary expenditure, the estimate for 1912 sets down the total at 4,650,987 francs, or £186,039. The biggest items are the management of the *régies* and monopolies, £21,675; public instruction, £14,111; hospital and poor relief, £8762.

From these figures we may conclude that the cost of governing the principality is now a little more than £186,000 per annum. The receipts slightly exceed the round sum of £200,000, and of this rather more than £110,000 comes from the gaming-tables. As the prince is responsible for the entire outlay it will be seen that though the casino is so large a contributor other sources of revenue are necessary. Then there is also an Extraordinary Budget, which deals with vast public works that do not bear strictly on the annual outlay. These are set down for the forthcoming year at £81,733 for public works, which with some other small items bring up the

total estimated expenditure of the Extraordinary Budget to £83,924, and lands the principality in a big deficit. Already we hear talk of loans and such fatal expedients. But this is due not to an unsound financial position, it is the result of exaggerated ambition and somewhat wild embellishment schemes. However, in so far as such extraordinary expenditure is sanctioned and incurred, there is but one source from whence the money can be obtained. This is the private treasury of the prince, and part of his income comes from resources that are altogether outside of the principality.

When, on the other hand, the income is larger than the expenditure, as it would be in 1912, if we set aside the Extraordinary Budget, then such surplus is employed by the prince to support enterprises, or works of scientific interest, which favour progress and are likely to be of practical use to humanity at large. Thus the prince does not only give over the money he annually receives from the casino to defray the cost of administering the principality, the cost of government and the maintenance of the many institutions, such as the schools, the hospital, the Courts of Justice, etc., but he adds very large sums which he derives from his estates in France and other private sources of income.

The whole of the money obtained from the casino is spent in the principality and for the benefit of its inhabitants. The money thus given to them is much larger than what other communities are able to gather even by heavy taxation. In the United Kingdom of England and Ireland the revenue is estimated at a trifle more than £4 a head per annum. The local expenditure is equal to £3, 4s. for every inhabitant, or a total average for national and local government of £7, 4s. for every living person. The principality of Monaco has rather less than 20,000 inhabitants. It may therefore be said that these inhabitants receive annually, and in round figures, the sum of £6 each from the casino. In other words, if the casino stopped payment and the government was continued as at present, it would

be necessary to tax the population at the average rate of £6 each person. In England we pay £7, 4s. per annum; at Monaco the people receive £6 per annum; and this takes no account whatsoever of all that the prince also gives them. Nowhere could a community be found that is so fortunately situated, and nowhere else is so much spent—all proportions being kept—on the advancement of the arts and sciences.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF THE PRINCE

PRINCE ALBERT I., son of Charles III. and Antoinette Ghislaine, Comtesse de Mérode, inherited the right to reign as absolute and independent sovereign of the principality of Monaco. But he was also heir to a great number of French titles acquired, as history shows, by his forefathers. When, in 1642, Honoré II. threw off the Spanish domination he received from Louis XIII. several titles and estates, such as that of Duke of Valentinois, Marquis des Baux, Count of Carladez, Baron du Buis, Lord of Saint-Rémy in Provence. By marriage with the Matignon family the princes of Monaco inherited the titles of Lord of Matignon, Count of Thorigny, Baron of Saint-Lô, etc. Finally, by marriage with the last heiress of the powerful and illustrious families of Aumont and Mazarin, Honoré passed over to the Grimaldis the titles of Duke of Mazarin, Duke of Mayenne, Prince of Château-Porcien, Count of Ferrette, of Belfort, of Thann and of Rosemont. The title of Grandee of Spain is also attached to the house of Grimaldi.

All these titles, however, are only inherited. The title the Prince of Monaco values most is that which he has obtained by his own personal efforts. As Associated Member of the Academy of Sciences and Member of the *Institut de France*, which is the union of the Five Academies, he has won a name for himself. The title of *Membre de l'Institut* is one that cannot be inherited, and is the highest reward of a career devoted to art or science.

After studying at the Collège Stanislas at Paris, the

prince was instructed by the renowned Monseigneur Dupauloup. Loving the sea, like most of his ancestors, Prince Albert went to the naval school at Lorient, where he learned navigation under French naval officers. Prince Albert was not yet eighteen years old when he entered the Spanish naval service. In two years' time he had obtained the rank of Lieutenant, but left the service when the Revolution came and Queen Isabella was driven from the throne of Spain. No sooner did the Franco-German War break out than Prince Albert, imitating the example set by so many of his ancestors, offered to serve in the French navy. He was at once attached to the staff of Vice-Admiral Penhoat, on the *Savoie*. This ship belonged to the second division of the Northern Fleet; but when the departure of the fleet was postponed Prince Albert was allowed to join Vice-Admiral Fournichon, who was cruising in the North Sea. Admiral Fournichon placed him on board the *Couronne*, with the rank of Lieutenant. The French, however, made little use of their fleet in this war. The best service the French sailors rendered was in managing the artillery and defending the forts on the outskirts of Paris. The prince was therefore soon free again, though his services were so well appreciated that the Government of the French Republic bestowed upon him the cross of the Legion of Honour.

By this time Prince Albert was no longer content to follow in the footprints of his ancestors. It occurred to him that there might be other distinctions than those won at the point of the sword. He had not yet become a Pacifist, but he understood that science had also its victories and its glory. Then, being a sailor to the core, it was natural that he should associate science with the sea. To use the prince's own words, he soon learnt that science spreads light and light engenders justice, and but for the sense of justice we should drift to anarchy and decadence. He felt also that to ensure progress it was necessary to establish a sort of equilibrium between the culture of art and the culture of science. Science must

dominate because it provides the practical needs of existence, but art gives warmth to works of intellect, softens sharp corners and helps to make life enjoyable.

Such ideas and much of the prince's philosophy may be found in "La Carrière d'un Navigateur," written by the prince himself and published at Monaco. This autobiography describes the earlier portions of the prince's career as a scientific investigator. It was in the autumn of 1873 that he first succeeded in obtaining possession of a small sailing vessel, which he bought at Torquay, and the name of which he changed from the *Pleiades* to the *Hirondelle*. The description the prince gives of his emotions when he first assumed command of the ship is sure to evoke the sympathies of the reader, and it is to be hoped that there will be no further delay in publishing the English translation of this illuminating work. It was in his small ship that Prince Albert discovered that there did not exist efficient means, mechanical and scientific instruments, to study the ocean and all that appertains to the ocean. The prince's greatest work in life has been to supply this deficiency, and hence the creation of a new science, the graphic study of the ocean, or oceanography.

On the 10th September 1889 Prince Charles III. died, and Prince Albert began his reign by reviving an old Monegasque custom. He invited the head of every Monegasque family, and, when they were all assembled in the Court of Honour of the palace, asked if they were satisfied that he should be their prince. Having been enthusiastically acclaimed, he proceeded to the Throne Room, and his subjects, following, were each and all brought into personal contact with their new sovereign. It was a patriarchal ceremony, something which would be thought impossible in the nineteenth century. But it is just these quaint and odd incidents that render Monaco so interesting to the intelligent and appreciative visitor. Monaco presents a happy combination of much that is very ancient with the most scientific and modern

aspirations of the present epoch. No sooner was the prince in power than he sought to revive the old institutions and create new ones. The hospital was at once condemned, and a commission despatched to travel, inspect the best hospitals, and report upon them. It will be seen in another chapter that this reform has been most successfully carried out. M. Gaston Moch, former pupil of the Polytechnic School, where Napoleon was educated, was deputed to travel in different countries to study and report on the various methods of education. This report, printed by the Government at Monaco, is a valuable contribution to the problem of education, and has helped in the carrying out of improvements in the principality. But it is not necessary to catalogue here the various reforms and improvements initiated or encouraged by the prince. They will become evident as the various phases of life in the principality are described. For the moment I would endeavour to give some idea of the aim, the principles which form the basis of the prince's acts and ambitions. This I may venture to attempt because I have before me the prince's book, and the text of many speeches he has delivered, though what I value more is the vivid recollection of several lengthy conversations.

On the occasion of my first audience I had just seen something of the instructive collections which are beginning to accumulate at the Oceanographic Museum, and this led me to make some remark about the parsimony of the British Government when it was a question of helping the advance of science. The prince, however, replied that other governments were equally wanting in judgment. For instance, at that very moment Dr Charcot found it extremely difficult to persuade the French Government to incur the expense of publishing the results of his recent expedition to the South Pole. This was a work which, while honouring the French nation, would prove of benefit to the whole world. The information gathered was much needed, and if not published it would be lost. Such books should be in all public

libraries throughout the world, ready to the hand of specialists requiring to consult them. If the world were to progress much work must be done from which no commercial return could be expected. This applied not only to the printing of books but to many other matters, and especially to scientific investigations. Many an undertaking or experiment gave promise of usefulness at some future date, but there was not sufficient prospect of immediate profit to attract private enterprise. It was in such cases that governments should take the lead, doing for the public what no individual member of the public was disposed to undertake. This was the prince's conception of the mission and duty of governments.

In regard to the principality there was yet another duty. From all parts of the world people came to Monte Carlo. They enriched the principality by the money they lost in gambling; and it was the duty of the prince, as representing the principality, to endeavour to render in exchange some international service. To the best of his knowledge, of all the higher pursuits none was so universal in the advantages it conferred, the discoveries it made, as the study of science. Therefore the prince has given £560,000 for scientific purposes of a purely international character. By the side of all the gaieties and frivolities of Monte Carlo the prince has attempted to create at Monaco a centre where some of the principal problems affecting the peace and welfare of the whole world are studied and a beneficent influence exercised. Indeed, the follies and dissipations of Monte Carlo have to some extent paved with gold the way to higher and better things. Gamblers may be despicable, just as dirt is obnoxious; but dirt is useful matter in the wrong place, and gambling has served as manure to fertilise the principality and to increase the prosperity of the whole Riviera. Funds have been liberated, and are now devoted to researches or enterprises that all acknowledge must contribute to the greater knowledge and happiness of peoples and of nations.

Whenever there is any scientific work or research that needs help, "I shall be there" ("*Je serais là*") exclaimed the prince, and past achievements testify that this is no empty boast. By its museums, its archives, among the richest in Europe, its Peace Institute, its costly and elaborate publications, by the encouragement given to music and the arts, by all that is done—not for profit, but to promote knowledge and progress—Monaco should attract the thoughtful and the studious. The palace has become a haven where the aristocracy of intellect is ever welcome. Very emphatically the prince declared that the world had no need of counts and dukes or princes, but wanted men with brains and knowledge. He then expressed apprehension with regard to the action of demagogy because it could not appreciate intellect, and a movement without intellect meant a disastrous levelling downwards. This allusion was entirely spontaneous. I had said nothing leading up to the subject. It seemed to be weighing on his mind, but what was the prince's precise meaning when he spoke of the overflow of demagogy (*le débordement démagogique*)? This was a very graphic and threatening sentence. Was he thinking about syndicalism, *sabotage* and the general strike? Who had inspired his fears? From what class of the community did they spring? Would that advisers could see with other eyes than those luminated only by interested motives. In the placid domain of science, how easy it is to differ over the origin and history of a rare specimen of fauna or flora. Nobody's future or social position is at stake. But in politics or in economics how are we to see clearly before us and reach the pure light of truth through the brambles of personal interest?

Whatever the prince's views may be with regard to the great economic problems of the day, he has lost no opportunity of developing the economic resources of the principality. The most notable step in this direction is the conversion of the natural port of Hercules into a modern harbour with quays, railway, breakwaters and all the most recent improvements. Again, at the prince's

own cost land is reclaimed from the sea so as to increase the industrial and manufacturing part of the principality. But while commercial and industrial enterprise has been thus encouraged, the law applying to joint stock or limited companies has been stiffened so as to keep a firmer grip upon such ventures, and render nefarious transactions more difficult. At the same time the prince also fought, though not always with success, to save gardens, plants and the natural beauty of the principality from destruction at the hands of speculating builders. Further, to encourage commercial relations, Monaco has as numerous a consular representation abroad as if it were a large country. These consuls must have an easy time, but when goods trains passing through the new tunnel come alongside steamers moored to the quays of the port there may be more international mercantile traffic than there is at present. No important international exhibition has been held, but the Monegasque pavilion, by its elegance and originality, has constituted one of the attractions. This was especially the case at the great centenary celebration held in Paris in 1900, and also at the Brussels Exhibition of 1910.

It is well known that the prince is deeply attached to the cause of peace. In spite of the bellicose character of many among his most distinguished ancestors, his ideal is to sustain "without bitterness and without hatred the struggle for life." Then and then only will the human conscience enjoy "inviolable tranquillity." In the Preface to "La Carrière d'un Navigateur" the prince says that "an ideal formed by the conception of future progress visits the enlightened spirit of the wise, as the distant promise of a true civilisation. The prestige of this ideal will banish the influence of particularism and disperse the shadow which divides the children of the human family when they are intoxicated with pride or cupidity and when they are deceived by cruel lies about military glory." The present condition of Europe, converted into an armed camp, does not encourage these hopes, but nevertheless a force is born of progress to unite con-

sciences; a public conscience is asserting itself, and it condemns all abuse of power, whether it be to crush a man or to plunder a people; it is the vague, undefined aurora of a new day rising on the horizon of time to guide living creatures in their continual evolution. "My convictions will certainly shock conservative and timorous minds, who conceal their fear of the unknown by mystic illusions, mundane frivolities or the inertia of habit. But the conscience of princes, for long subjugated by anti-progressive traditions, may now be awakened by the lessons of Nature and of Science; it will then despise a policy guided by the antagonism of nations, the rights of the strongest and the fiction of frontiers; it will combat the atavic hatred engendered by religion, race and caste and will aspire only towards a future when Human Solidarity shall realise Justice."

Such, in a few words, is the prince's programme, and it remains to record some of the steps he has taken towards its realisation. Obviously one of the best means of breaking down barriers and of bringing together the populations of the world is to invite the *élite* of the different nations to meet in friendly intercourse. For this purpose international congresses are most useful. Therefore the prince is ever ready to offer a large hospitality to such congresses when they meet in the principality. Thus in 1897 the International Congress of the Literary and Artistic Association was held at Monaco. In 1901 the first congress of the International Marine Association was held here. In 1902 took place the great International Peace Congress and the Conference of the International Association of the Medical Press. The International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology assembled at Monaco in 1906, and the International Congress of Zoology in 1912. After the Peace Congress of 1902 the prince founded an International Institute of Peace at Monaco, as a centre of propaganda, while personally he has constantly travelled to visit those whom he might hope to influence in favour of the cause of science and of peace.

CHAPTER X

THE ACTION OF PRINCE ALBERT I. IN THE PRESERVATION OF EUROPEAN PEACE

GIVEN the opportunity and the man, there are no limits to the possibilities of human achievements. In Monaco we have the man, in Europe the opportunity. Only there are deeds that dye the pages of history with letters of blood, while other acts are so modestly performed that their record does not stand forth self-revealed. Indeed many of the best actions could not be accomplished if there were much talk about them at the time. Discretion in diplomacy is indispensable. To claim, however, that anyone in Monaco could influence the destinies of Europe may seem somewhat absurd, considering the diminutive size of the principality. Yet, in certain circumstances, it was precisely the smallness of the principality that became an element of strength, and the best of recommendations. Such a little state could not be suspected of entertaining sinister designs on other countries, and its representative could therefore speak without exciting mistrust of his motives. On the other hand, the fact that the state was so small deprived its chief of the right of being heard in the councils of Europe.

What could the opinion of Monaco matter to the great powers? Therefore we have to fall back upon the man rather than the prince.

To exercise an influence in the councils of nations many qualities are required. First of all, a position is needed that will serve as an introduction. In this respect, even in these democratic days, the question of family, of pedigree, is still of importance.

Now, if there be any virtue in a long lineage of rulers the Prince of Monaco holds indisputably the first place in Europe. Whether the present prince is descended from the Grimaldi who is said to have received Monaco at the hands of the Emperor Otho I., in A.D. 968, or from Grimaldi, who was Consul of Genoa in 1162, the Grimaldis are obviously the oldest reigning family in Europe. With but temporary interruptions, they have governed Monaco during six centuries. For those who believe in "blue blood," ancient descent, the Divine Right of Kings, the house of Grimaldi should hold the first place among the sovereign families of Europe. None of them is as old, for it was not till 1273 that Rudolphe of Hapsburg was elected Emperor of Germany, and subsequently delegated one of his sons to govern Austria.

Such considerations are, however, of but little account in our days, unless the possessor of a long pedigree has also inherited the wealth or the capacities for which his ancestors were distinguished. This is precisely the case with regard to the present Prince of Monaco. He is not only blessed with an ample share of this world's goods, for he possesses extensive and valuable estates in France, but he has also inherited some of the most precious characteristics of his ancestors. During a life of adventure and danger, he has given hostages to fortune, and none can doubt his powers of endurance, his presence of mind and courage. Whether exploring in the Arctic seas or the tropical regions, in weather fair or foul, the prince has always shown himself a true sea captain, sharing with his crew every danger and every hardship. But the prince has inherited from his long line of ancestors another and a greater quality, which is not so easily recognised by the general public. It needs but a moment's reflection to realise that no amount of physical courage would have sufficed to enable the Grimaldis to keep their hold on Monaco for so many centuries. Even though the principality was much larger than it is now, it was always a comparatively small country, and therefore in danger of

being absorbed by its powerful neighbours—Genoa, Savoy and Provence, to say nothing of France and Aragon, which, if at a greater distance, were as aggressive and still more powerful. Though the princes of Monaco often fought, and fought very gallantly, they could only save the principality from annexation by forming advantageous alliances. In a word, it was by diplomacy, rather than by hard fighting, that the independence of Monaco was preserved during so many centuries, and the reigning prince has inherited not only the courage but also the diplomatic tact that distinguished many of his ancestors.

All this, however, is merely the prince's good fortune, the happy accident of his birth; but to such initial advantage he has added the real and personal glory of becoming himself an ancestor. During the Great Revolution, when the most extraordinary galaxy of renowned geniuses sprang from the ranks, and saved France from the attacks of all Europe, Royalists often sneered at the principal Republican leaders because they had no pedigree, no ancestors. On one such occasion, a proud answer was made—"Yes, it is true we have no ancestors, but then we are ourselves ancestors."

In spite of the dimness of the future we may rest assured that coming generations, in the long vista of years, will gratefully recall the memory of the present Prince of Monaco as the Father of Oceanographic Science. As this science renders more and more service to humanity, so will the prince become an ancestor from whom all would be proud to claim descent. To have so largely contributed to create a new and fruitful science is a victory which, when the world becomes more enlightened and less barbaric, will be recognised as a far better title to glory and gratitude than victories won on the fields of battle. Thus any court would be honoured in receiving a prince who represents the oldest reigning family, who is personally endowed with courage, diplomatic tact, and possesses a large fortune. But the honour of entertaining such a guest is greatly intensified when it

is known that the prince devotes his private means to promoting scientific research for the public good; and, in so doing, has himself attained eminence as a scientific authority. A royal prince has become a member of the Aristocracy of Intellect—a title that can never be inherited. The Republic of Letters and Science, a republic which has long since abolished frontier demarcations, is proud to claim the Prince of Monaco as a colleague and a fellow-citizen. Thus it has come about that the prince is equally at home at Potsdam or at the Palais de l'Elysée.

Naturally, for it is a matter of paramount interest, wild attempts have been made to discover to what use the prince has put his exceptional opportunities, and much has been said and printed which is the result of mere guessing. On one occasion, when alluding to this subject, Professor Charles Richet told me that he had been invited for a two months' cruise on board the *Princesse Alice*, when the prince was pursuing his oceanographic researches. These were, the eminent professor enthusiastically added, the two most pleasant months of his life. They were seven boon companions, and nothing could exceed the fascinating interest and the friendly character of the conversations on board, more especially at meal-times. It was in the course of these discussions that Professor Richet was able to expatiate on the object and meaning of the Pacifist policy. He insisted, of course, on the good that had already been accomplished, the treaties in favour of arbitration between different powers which were already signed, and the hope that, in time, arbitration would always be accepted as the only just solution of differences between nations. The prince then agreed to organise the next International Peace Congress at Monaco, where it was held in the spring of 1902.

Apart from the reasons given above, Prince Albert I. has easy access to the Imperial Court of Berlin because he is a near relation of the reigning house of Wurtemberg. There is no doubt that the Prince of Monaco's great strength rests in the fact that he can speak to the

Kaiser on equal terms, and this he utilises for the sake of telling him the truth. The Emperor of Germany, in spite of all the power he exercises, and the heavy responsibilities that weigh upon him, does not always know the truth. However desirous he may be of judging impartially all questions at issue, he is surrounded by persons whose interest it is to conceal the truth ; and who, at times, even endeavour to produce an absolutely false impression. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the German Emperor should welcome the visit of a friend who can have no possible interest to serve by making false representations. Apart from the fact that he is an ardent member of the Peace Society, the Prince of Monaco and the principality have everything to lose from the outbreak of war, especially if it were a war between France and Germany. Therefore the Kaiser can listen with confidence to the information and advice given by the Prince of Monaco ; and thus, on more than one occasion, have the scales been removed from the eyes of those who had been deceived. A king or the chief of a state rarely knows the truth. The fact that the prince was received in the Kaiser's intimate councils naturally made the President of the French Republic anxious to hear what he might have to say ; thus, in France as in Germany, Prince Albert has been able to give weighty words of advice when difficult and dangerous incidents occurred.

There were moments when the official diplomatic relations between France and Germany had reached such a point of tension that neither party dared say anything further, lest, being misunderstood, an open rupture should result. On such occasions, the Prince of Monaco, who was recognised on both sides as having no personal interest to serve beyond the general desire to prevent war, could travel between the court of Berlin and the Quai d'Orsay or the Palais de l'Elysée with arguments, explanations, suggestions or plans for new combinations. If these were badly received it did not matter. The prince was not

officially an ambassador or a diplomatic agent, he was not even a simple subject of either of the countries concerned, so that whatever he said, and however he might be treated, he could not become a *casus belli*. This enabled him to speak of many things which an official or an ambassador could not have mooted. On the other hand, such informal, unofficial conversations were much better calculated to result in the discovery of a solution. Then, when it was ascertained quite informally that such a solution would be acceptable to both parties, it could be brought forward through official channels without fear of provoking any untoward incident. Thus the prince was of great help in preventing war over the Morocco difficulty, and in bringing about the peaceful solution that took the form of the Algeciras Treaty. During that great crisis, when M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was sacrificed to appease German anger, there was a moment when the relations between the two countries were practically broken off. The prince then undertook to represent the views of the French Premier, M. Rouvier, to the Kaiser, and succeeded in so composing matters that official diplomatic relations were reopened. In this, as in all other questions, the prince's action is always absolutely pacific.

At the most critical moment, however, it seemed as if these efforts would prove futile. The prince had just arrived in Paris from Berlin. He was brimming over with hope and happy anticipation. At Berlin he had held promising conversations with the Kaiser, and was squeezing a portfolio fondly under his arm, for it contained, he imagined, terms of suggestions that would bridge over all the difficulties. These proposals seemed so important that, instead of going home to his Paris residence after his long journey, the prince drove straight from the station to the Foreign Office and asked to see M. Rouvier on a matter of the utmost urgency. This, he was told, was impossible, the Premier being at the Chambers. The prince thereupon insisted on telephoning to the Chambers,

and soon received the disconcerting reply that the Government had just been defeated and was about to resign. The hopes of peace had now to be deferred till after the formation of a new ministry, and the terms of agreement with the German Government the prince thought M. Rouvier would approve might not seem equally acceptable to his successor at the Foreign Office. Fortunately M. Bourgeois, who succeeded M. Rouvier, was just as desirous of maintaining peace, and the new Government availed themselves of the explanations, suggestions and facilities the prince secured during his friendly and unofficial chats with the Kaiser. It was in this manner that the prince very effectively helped to bring about the Conference and Treaty of Algeciras.

In regard to the more recent crisis, when in 1911 affairs in Morocco seemed once more likely to disturb the peace of Europe, the prince did not take any part in the negotiations. In answer to my questions on the subject, Prince Albert said it was merely a game of grab, in which he had no sympathy and was not desirous of being concerned. It would be a source of great happiness to him to contribute in any way possible to the prevention of war, but he had no desire to have a voice in the sharing of the spoils.

It is obvious that in speaking of the relations between governments precise details cannot be given. The influence of the Prince of Monaco and of others who may have attempted a similar rôle must of necessity depend on its anonymous character. Discretion, therefore, is the condition of existence, and the prince himself is more anxious to place those with whom he is associated in a favourable light than to speak of his own efforts. Thus the prince does not hesitate, on all propitious occasions, to protest against the false and mischievous opinions prevailing with regard to the Kaiser. He insists that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, the Emperor of Germany is in favour of peace. His apparent militarism, his praises of the army, are due to the belief the emperor entertains that military

service is a great educational influence, and is necessary quite independently of purposes of warfare. This being the case, Prince Albert was better able to promote the cause of peace in different directions, and rendered, for instance, great service at Bergen in July 1899, when the French training-ship *Iphigénie* came in contact with the *Hohenzollern*. The French Government had given no instructions to the captain of the *Iphigénie*. He was told to go to Bergen and do the best he could, but on his own responsibility. It was an awkward position. What could the captain of a French naval training-ship say to the German Emperor? Fortunately the Prince of Monaco, who was at that time busily occupied with his oceanographic researches, steered for Bergen in the hope of meeting the Kaiser, who is also much interested in deep-sea explorations. The prince at once grasped the situation, and from his own yacht, the *Princesse Alice*, he rowed rapidly backward and forward between the *Hohenzollern* and the *Iphigénie*.

The French Commander had accomplished all the acts of courtesy towards the German Emperor which are the rule under such circumstances, and was invited on board the Imperial yacht. Here he was most amicably received. But then, as the prince ruefully remarked when he described the incident to me, it was not quite so easy a matter to arrange for the return visit. It was all very well receiving a French officer on a German pleasure yacht, but to invite the German War Lord on board a French war training-ship was a much more delicate affair. The prince, however, ultimately overcame all the difficulties, and he had the pleasure of seeing the German Emperor step on the deck of the French ship, where he was courteously received and all the honours rendered. This was a most important event, for it constituted the first step toward friendly dealings between France and Germany. But for the prince's presence at Bergen, his diplomatic tact and personal influence with the Kaiser, this *rapprochement* might have been deferred for several years.

The staff and the pupils of the *Iphigénie* were subsequently invited on board the *Hohenzollern*, and for the most part responded to the invitation. Here they met some German cadets, for a German training-ship had now also arrived at Bergen. The Prince of Monaco, after helping to bring about this interesting but delicate meeting, had the great satisfaction of seeing the young sailors of both nations fraternise in the presence of the emperor. Before his officers and his guests, the Kaiser bestowed a decoration on the Commandant of the *Iphigénie*, informing him, at the same time, that he had asked the French Government to allow him to accept this honour. To the Prince of Monaco, who is so profoundly attached to the modern conceptions that seek to efface old antagonism and replace violence and war by arbitration, this friendly meeting of French and Germans at Bergen was a most auspicious event. On several other and analogous occasions the prince has been able to bring about similar results; thus ever seeking to conciliate and to pacify, and making full use of his social position and personal prestige to promote this good cause.

In the days of the Dreyfus affair the prince played a very useful part. Not only did he assist some of the victims, but he was able to give the French Government very positive assurances of the innocence of Dreyfus. Indeed, it is said that these assurances were so conclusive that they helped to hasten the untimely end of the late President, M. Felix Faure. Certainly M. Felix Faure was in a painful position. He was tied to the Clerical and Nationalist Party, whose very existence depended on preventing a revision of the Dreyfus trial. An hour and a quarter before M. Felix Faure's death, the Archbishop of Paris came to see him, and probably insisted on the need of continued resistance to the demand, daily growing in strength, for the revision of the Dreyfus case. At five in the afternoon, an hour before the fatal attack, the Prince of Monaco called. It would not have been in keeping with their sense of dignity for the German

Government, unsolicited, to have volunteered evidence with regard to Dreyfus. But the German Emperor could, in private conversation, assure his friend, the Prince of Monaco, that the German Government had never entertained any relations whatever with Captain Alfred Dreyfus, and knew nothing about him. Of course the prince would communicate this to President Faure, and the theory is that the anxiety and irritation caused by such news hastened on the fatal attack. But the prince, in conversation, has explained that, when he saw the president for the last time, he found him distracted and absent-minded. So much was this the case that, whatever may have been the object the prince had in view on that particular afternoon, he gave it up, seeing that the president was not listening to him, and that, in his state of mind, it was no use attempting to explain matters.

The prince left the president at twenty minutes past five o'clock, and M. Faure was then looking forward to the visit of the fascinating lady who subsequently became the chief figure of a sensational *cause célèbre.* Perhaps such pleasing anticipations made it difficult for the president to listen with due attention to the Prince of Monaco's grave admonitions. More probably, the fact that the president had not full control of his mind may be taken as a premonitory symptom of the approaching attack. It was six o'clock when the president suddenly became unconscious, just forty minutes after the Prince of Monaco's departure. A doctor, whom M. Faure had met during a shooting expedition, happened to be calling at the Elysée at that moment. Being the nearest medical man to hand, his services were at once requisitioned. He was taken, not upstairs, but downstairs to the room of M. Faure's secretary. It was not in his own room, but in his secretary's office, that M. Faure was in the habit of receiving the lady in question, nor was she his only lady visitor. Seeing what occurred, the opinion naturally arose that the president had been more gallant than was prudent at his age. When the doctor entered the

secretary's office he found the lady still there. She was so terrified at the president's condition and excited by the occurrence that she was unable to attend to her toilet. On the other hand, it was most urgent to get rid of her with the utmost speed. Therefore her cloak was bundled round her anyhow, and she was given over to a policeman, who had to put her swiftly in a cab and see her home. M. Faure's family was then summoned, and the world was startled by the news of the sudden death of the President of the French Republic.

One of the principal obstacles to the revision of the Dreyfus trial was thus removed. M. Emile Loubet, who succeeded M. Felix Faure in the presidency of the republic, was not an agent of the Clerical Party. He had, therefore, no objection to the revision. Thus the truth was at last known and the ends of justice attained. But in this struggle there had been many victims. Among others there was l'Abbe Pichon, who lost his chair as Professor of Mathematics because he had ventured to speak in favour of Dreyfus. The prince, however, came to his rescue and gave him the living of the little church of St Dévote in the romantic ravine between the Condamine and Monte Carlo. Other princely acts of kindness helped to soften the asperities of that great struggle which brought France to the verge of civil war.

As an after-consequence of the Dreyfus affair there followed what has erroneously been called the separation of the Church and State in France. It was by the Decree of the 2nd December 1789, when Louis XVI. was king, that the State nationalised all Church property and undertook to maintain the churches and the hospitals. In those days, as again to-day, the clergy refused to be controlled by the State. During the revolution that followed, the Church was swept away. It was gradually restored when the reaction came, and finally rested on the Concordat concluded between the Pope and Napoleon in 1801. It is the Concordat which, as one of the results of the Dreyfus affair, has now been destroyed. It will be remembered

that when President Loubet went to Rome he did not call on the Pope. The latter at once despatched a protest to all the governments containing a sentence which had been carefully omitted from the protest sent to the French Government. This sentence consisted of the statement that, if relations with France were not broken off, it was only because the Pope hoped the actual French Government would soon be out of office! With surprising rapidity, M. Jaures heard of this and brought the matter before the French National Assembly. It produced the long-expected climax. All connection between the French Government and the Papal See was severed, the Concordat destroyed, and the State resumed the ownership of the property the Church had controlled under Concordat.

The indiscretion which brought about this tremendous revolution was attributed to the Prince of Monaco. The prince was believed to be on friendly terms with M. Jaures and several of M. Jaures' friends. The prince had befriended victims of the clerical persecutions directed against those who asked for justice on behalf of Dreyfus. As an independent sovereign, the prince had received the papal circular, and had doubtless called attention to the discrepancy in the text, thus rendering the very greatest service to the cause of freedom. The prince, however, energetically repudiates any such honour. Judged from the moral standard established in diplomatic relations, it would, on the contrary, be a dishonourable action to give such information. When I had an opportunity of questioning the prince on this matter he very emphatically declared that nothing would induce him to show a secret document. How a document can be secret when it is addressed to every government, and must be read by several civil servants in the employ of those governments, is another matter. In any case, the Prince of Monaco can meet the accusation levelled against him by a very good alibi. It so happened that at the time the incident occurred the prince was away on one of his oceanographic expedi-

tions. He was out of reach on the distant seas. The prince thought the accusation of a diplomatic breach of faith circulated against him could be attributed to the spirit of revenge engendered by the fact that he had taken the part of Dreyfus against his clerical persecutors.

Needless to say, when I had the privilege of being received in audience by the Prince of Monaco, I asked for intimate details concerning what part the prince had taken in seeking to preserve the peace of Europe. The prince replied that this was a delicate question. Undoubtedly he had done his best. To him it was incomprehensible that, in the face of modern scientific progress and the immense development of intellectual work, there should still be persons suffering from such mental aberration as to believe in the righteousness of force and to think that might meant right. Speaking with an easy flow of language and with great earnestness, the prince assured me that he did not believe such people were very numerous. Very few persons, after all, cared to incur the awful responsibility of war. It was a great mistake, he insisted, to give credence to the firebrand theory. It might be difficult to realise, but it was nevertheless a fact that those who were accused of militarist tendencies, of sanguinary ambition, were in reality most anxious to preserve the peace. If a quarrel arose, the prince added, it was not a national quarrel; it was not even a governmental quarrel. It was only due to two or three individuals who pursued a personal and not a national interest. When such a contingency occurred, it was comparatively easy for an outsider who was obviously disinterested to unmask such machinations. This was the part the prince had occasionally been able to play, and he laughed heartily when I suggested that, after all, no one would suspect him of an annexionist policy. The prince several times insisted on the general pacific disposition of all politicians and statesmen. But here and there, he repeated, a few individuals got up a scare, created a grievance, and deliberately fomented trouble. Behind such action, there

was always some selfish, personal interest to serve. It sufficed to discover and to denounce these intrigues to prevent war. When, and this was usually the case, it could be shown that the patriotic outcry was started by those who hoped to fill their pockets if war ensued, the scare created generally collapsed. It had been the prince's object to unravel these sordid conspiracies against the public peace, and, by exposing their true character to the rulers most concerned, to prevent the mischief that, in the absence of such explanations, might have ensued. Thus he had endeavoured to work for the cause of peace. It was not for him to say with what measure of success, but he did not hesitate to declare that he had done his best.

CHAPTER XI

BUILDING UP THE NEW SCIENCE OF OCEANOGRAPHY

WHILE following the development of current politics and keeping a keen watch for an opportunity of intervening in favour of peace, Prince Albert never ceased the pursuit of his scientific studies and researches. On his little schooner of 200 tons, and with a crew of only fifteen sailors, he succeeded in collecting specimens from a depth of 9000 feet. It required three hours and a quarter of manual labour to lower the special sort of net constructed for this purpose, and nine and a half hours to bring it up again. A donkey engine would have saved much wearisome toil. Nevertheless from 1885 to 1888 the prince made four expeditions on the *Hirondelle*. In 1891, Messrs Green, shipbuilders, London, constructed a yacht of 600 tons for the prince, which was called the *Princesse Alice I.* It had an auxiliary engine of 350 horse-power and a small scientific laboratory on board. With this ship very fruitful expeditions were made from 1892 to 1897. South-west of Madeira the sea was explored to a depth of close upon 1800 feet; but now a still larger vessel of 1373 tons was built for the prince at Laird's yards, Birkenhead. This was the *Princesse Alice II.*, and she had triple expansion engines of 1000 horse-power, and could travel 13 knots an hour. Captain H. Carr, of the English navy, was second in command of this ship from 1891 to 1906. Oceanography consists in part of engineering and mechanical arts, for a new study requires new instruments. A few years ago, if we stood on the deck of a ship, we had no means, no methods existed, by which we might investigate what existed at any great depth in

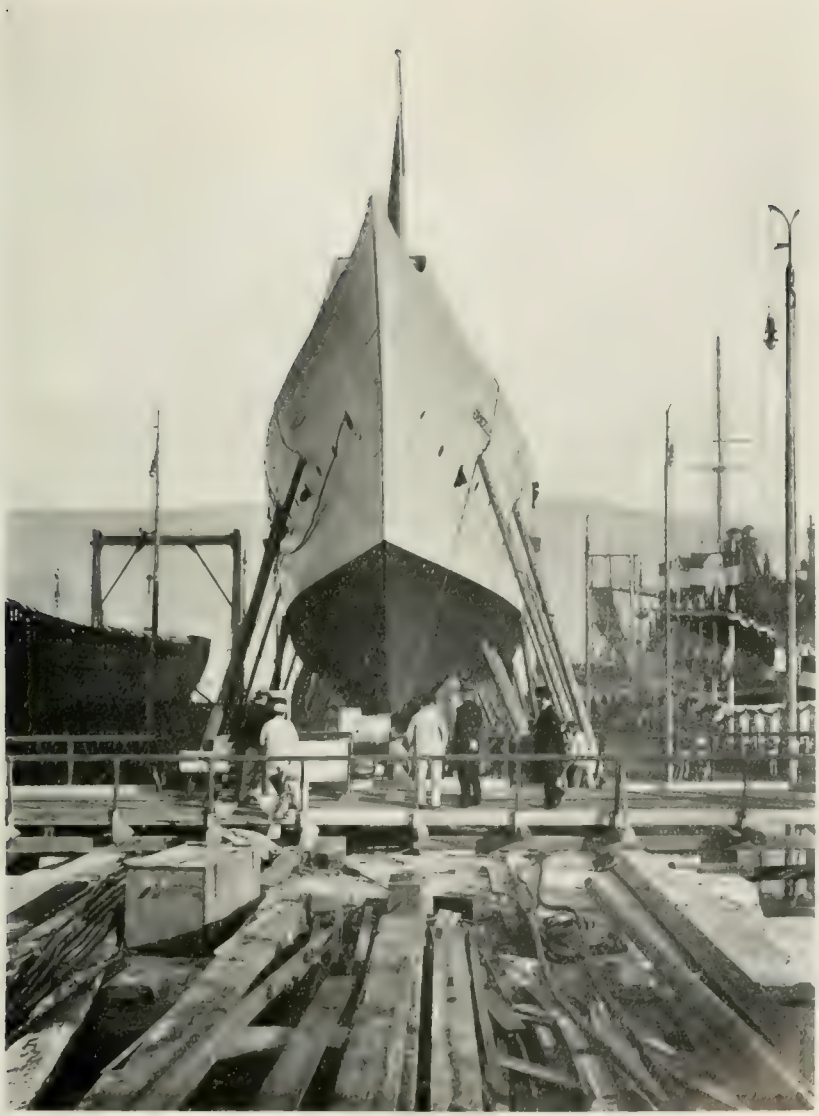
the ocean underneath. There was no rope that could be sunk to the necessary depth with an apparatus that would bring up, in an unspoilt condition, specimens of what lies at the bottom of the sea. On board the *Princesse Alice II.* a specially constructed cable was placed. It was made with numerous galvanised steel threads cunningly intertwined to give the maximum of strength with the minimum of bulk and of weight. Though this wonderful metallic rope could pan out to the total length of 39,000 feet, it could drag a weight of seven tons without snapping. Some people imagine that oceanography means an aquarium and the preserving of a few fish in bottles of alcohol; it means, among a hundred other technical, mechanical and scientific attainments, the construction of such a cable as I have just described. Then there is the fitting out of ships with elaborate physiological, bacteriological and chemical laboratories on board. There must of course be swinging tables that will remain steady while the ship rolls, so that the chemical experiments may not be disturbed. There must be the necessary scientific reference library on board. Then, and though difficult to secure against breakage, there is need of a large amount of chemical apparatus, mostly of fragile glass and alcohol, for the preservation of specimens. Though an exceptional amount of light is necessary in the laboratories, especially for dissection, a dark room for photography is also required. Thus, and taken altogether, the fitting out of a ship for exploring the ocean is a technique in itself, and an absolutely new technique. This is one of the reasons why oceanography is a novel science and is not to be confused with natural history.

Finally in 1911 the *Hirondelle II.* was built by the *Société des Forges et Chantiers de lá Méditerranée*, and the prince has already made one expedition in this, his newest ship. It differs from the *Princesse Alice II.*, mainly because it is larger—namely, 1650 tons, with 2000 horse-power and a speed of 15 knots. Of course the scientific installation on board comprises the latest improvements, including not

merely wireless telegraphy but also wireless telephony, by which sounds made at a great distance can be registered. Some experiments were attempted in telephony on board the *Hirondelle II.* off Toulon, and hopes are entertained that they will lead to a great simplification of the transmitting and receiving apparatus. In the meanwhile, the "Marseillaise" played at Algiers was heard and registered on board the *Hirondelle II.* off Toulon.

During this, the first expedition with the new ship, a very remarkable species of octopus was discovered. Its body, like that of a jelly-fish, was so transparent that the internal organs could be clearly seen, but the most wonderful feature is the one large eye this fish possesses. The eye is divided into two parts, one for seeing and the other for projecting a phosphorescent light. Indeed, luminous fish with eyes that are lanterns abound in those lower depths about which we knew so little but a few years ago. Professor Charles Richet, notably, described to me a fish that seemed the very personification of prudence. This animal has only a very small body to feed, but an enormous mouth wherewith to capture the food. Then at the back of this huge mouth there is a luminous eye. Therefore, when it has secured a good mouthful, it turns on the light and has a careful look at what it is about to swallow. Would that we were always as well informed before taking to ourselves the alimentary products that modern industrialism throws on to the market. The fish that gives this example of prudence is known as the *eurypharynx.*

During his expeditions the prince assumes the supreme command. At present Commandant d'Arodes, who attained the rank of captain of a frigate in the French navy, and Lieutenant Bourée assist in the command. Dr Jules Richard, who has worked in the laboratory since 1888, is entrusted with the zoological researches, and is assisted by the prince's private secretary, M. Fuhrmeister. On each cruise different professors and scientific authorities are selected, according to the nature of the researches



"L'Hirondelle II" ready to be launched

about to be made, and invited to accompany the prince. Then an able artist, M. L. Tinayre, also forms part of the staff, so as to paint pictures of the specimens captured before their colours fade. To further ensure that no experience shall be lost, Lieutenant Bourée has now become an expert in colour photography, and thus we have the evidence of photography as well as that given by the artist's brush. The crew, for the most part, are recruited from the fishing population of the coasts of Brittany, for the work is often extremely arduous and a very hardy, reliable set of men is needed.

The oceanographic researches, conducted by the prince in person, extend from 81° north of Spitzberg to 12·05° south of the Cape Vert archipelago. Measured, in the vertical sense, these investigations, with the aid of balloons, have reached to a height of 43,400 feet; and, with the special apparatus invented for the purpose, the sea has been studied down to a depth of nearly 20,000 feet. The first studies were devoted to the superficial currents of the Northern Atlantic, notably the Gulf Stream, but the Azores present conditions that are specially favourable from the biological and bathymetrical point of view. The latter term means the life existing at different depths. How can animals be collected that live at a certain depth without capturing, at the same time, animals that live above or below this zone. The science of oceanography consists, among other things, of inventing instruments to solve this problem.

Altogether, and up to the beginning of 1912, the prince has made twenty-four different maritime oceanographic explorations. The separate operations performed during these expeditions amount to not less than 3160. But of supreme interest are the measures taken to ensure that this labour of giants shall not be lost to humanity. Above all it is necessary that with the disappearance of its prime promoter, the work shall still continue. For this reason the prince has founded and, above all, endowed the Museum and Institute of Oceanography. Then no trouble

or money has been spared to print with beautiful, artistic and coloured illustrations a lengthy record of what has been done. These publications are issued by the Government Printing Works of Monaco in the handsome *format* known as "grand jesus quarto," on beautiful special paper, and no less than thirty-seven large volumes have now been published. In themselves they constitute a lasting monument, and will be consulted during ages to come by students of nature. Many of the volumes deal each with a different category of fish. For instance, Vol. II. treats of the sponge-dwellers of the North Atlantic; Vol. III. shell-fish; Vol. VII. crabs; Vol. IX. the octopus species; Vol. XII. the star-fish, and Vol. XVI. the amphipodes or shrimp-like creatures. On the other hand, Vol. XXII. is not concerned with fish, but with the water in which they live and its chemical composition. The pictures depict the apparatus for analyses and for taking photographs under water. Vol. XXIV. is very important and interesting, for it deals with the normal existence of arsenic in organisms.

The first researches in regard to arsenic were made by Gabriel Bertrand to prove cases of poisoning. In 1836 the Marsh method of analysis overcame the principal difficulty, as with its aid the presence of a milligram could be detected, even when in combination with organic tissues. But the question arose whether the presence of some arsenic was not a normal condition. After many experiments, this was denied, till Gautier rediscovered arsenic in the tissues. Considering that while arsenic is so often used for criminal purposes its beneficent effects in the treatment of certain diseases are becoming more and more evident, the arsenic problem becomes a matter of great practical importance. Therefore it is interesting to see if oceanography can throw a new light on the question. Vol. XXIV. confirms the existence of arsenic in the normal tissues of man and animals. The illustrations give the apparatus employed, and the methods of research are explained. Many animals were captured in the Atlantic

and at once examined for arsenic. In examining sea-birds, only the feathers were used, as the flesh might be influenced by the abundance of the arsenic in the shot with which they were killed. From sponge-like growth to the vertebræ, all specimens examined were found to contain arsenic in the system, and this independently of the time or place of their capture. It seems, therefore, clear that arsenic has a part to play in our being, that it is an element of the living cellulla, and is present just as we find carbon, nitrogenous matter, sulphur and phosphorus.

Vol. XXIX. gives some account of the presence of sulphuric acid in various parts of the sea. It deals with the means of estimating the varying transparency of water and its colorisation, the floating apparatus for measuring the rapidity of currents, and gives interesting pictures of the crystals that compose sand; so it will be seen that there are many other things to be considered besides fish in the study of oceanography. No one should go to Monaco without including in his programme a visit to the Municipal Library. However ignorant of science and technicalities, the pictures, in any case, are so beautifully coloured, so strange and wonderful, that they cannot fail to interest. Let the visitor ask for the thirty-seven volumes, or *Fascicules*, as they are called, on Oceanography and he will get just a glimmer of what that term means and of the tremendous amount of labour done in Monaco to endow the world with a new and useful science.

It was on the 25th of April 1899 that the foundation stone of the Oceanographic Museum was laid. On this occasion, at any rate, the nobler aspirations of the human mind were manifest; petty rivalries were laid aside, and for once even active, practical politicians allowed themselves to dream of the great things peace allied with science might achieve. To show his appreciation and interest the Kaiser instructed the German Ambassador in Paris, Count von Munster, to proceed to Monaco. At the ceremony of laying the foundation stone,

Count von Munster was very emphatic in expressing the German Emperor's sympathy and interest. He concluded his speech with these words:

"This monument about to be built in one of the most beautiful spots of Europe will crown worthily the work of Your Highness, and I admire the thought of making this a rallying centre for all who take interest in the sea.

"By offering so noble a hospitality to the learned of all countries, Your Highness will contribute to the good-fellowship and closer relations of all nations."

The French Government was not behind the Kaiser in expressing its sympathy and admiration. They despatched Admiral Brown de Colstoun, who likewise congratulated the prince.

Considering that Great Britain is in the first rank among maritime nations, and, with the cruise of the *Challenger* and other explorations, can claim to have actively contributed to the development of oceanographic knowledge, it is difficult to understand why no spokesman on behalf of the British Government was present to take part in the felicitations offered by the governments of France and Germany. As it was, the Prince of Monaco found himself alone to face the representatives of the two rival countries. Undoubtedly it was a difficult situation, well calculated to tax to the utmost the diplomatic skill which so many members of the house of Grimaldi fortunately have possessed. In dealing with the endeavours of the prince to maintain peace, especially between Germany and France, I have alluded to his disbelief in the supposed warlike proclivities of certain chiefs of states and governments. The speech delivered by the prince in reply to the German and French representatives supports this statement. The prince said:

"The Emperor William at a moment when Europe is endeavouring to dissipate menacing dangers, gives evidence of reassuring feelings, since he sends one of his most vener-

ated representatives to take part in consolidating a scientific mission.

"Yes, the emperor who sets the example of intellectual efforts, who grants a cordial reception to a working-class deputation, who sends even to the simple pioneers of *L'Hirondelle* and *La Princesse Alice* testimony of esteem, this emperor is acting like a true friend of peace."

Then turning to Admiral Brown de Colstoun, the prince continued:

"And you, Admiral, representing the nation which breathed upon the world the warm breath of its genius; you who have been sent by a president who has become great by reason of the clearness of his acts, the firmness of his soul, and the suffrage of the French people; you who received me in a day of storm and wreck, tell the French sailors, tell the companions of my youth, that my sailors are still at work, and that my old affection will last so long as I exist.

"Now, when I see the delegates of the emperor and of the president unite round this stone, which summarises the alliance of labour and of thought, of that which is greatest in human nature, I wonder what is the new force appearing in the hearts of men to dominate the older instincts, and I foresee a light which science will kindle, and which will more evenly balance souls by directing their passions towards nobler objects.

"A stone will be laid by hands that will be joined together in friendship. May the movement of which this is the foundation throw towards the sea spread before us, like the infinite, and towards the sky, suspended above us like hope without limits stretching to the generations the future awaits, a ray of that serenity which emperors, kings, princes and chiefs of states must all find in their own consciences, so as similarly to influence the men whose destinies they have to guide."

Thus, while paying the greatest homage to the German Emperor, the prince seeks to tar him with the Pacifist brush. Then he turns to compliment France of the Great

Revolution by alluding to the universal influence of French genius, and finally recalls the fact that he joined the French navy during the Franco-German War; and all this is done in so delicate and poetical a manner that everybody is happy and satisfied. Indeed, so successful was the prince, that both emperor and president, not contented with having deputed special ambassadors, also sent personal telegrams.

Such was the nature of the encouragement the prince received when the foundation stone of the museum was laid with befitting ceremony. Probably when all the other leading nations have fallen into line in recognising the service this institution will render to humanity, the British Government may also wake up to the consciousness that something ought to be done. This is the more necessary as the museum is not a fancy structure erected to satisfy the special taste of a wealthy prince. It is not even a museum provided as a resort for the inhabitants of the principality. It is part of a permanent and well-endowed international institution, placed at the disposal of men of science of all nations, and managed by an international committee. Further, as Monaco is at some distance from the great universities and centres of study, a corresponding Institute of Oceanography has been founded in Paris. The museum at Monaco becomes a demonstrating centre, an all-important annexe or branch of the institute established at the Paris University. What concerns the museum is therefore of more than mere local interest.

Certainly at first, as far back as 1885, the prince did think of building at Monaco a museum in which he could place the specimens he brought back from his scientific explorations. But it soon became apparent that this would be altogether too exclusive. Such a museum must contain in a general manner all that relates to the science it is meant to illustrate. As the building progressed, in 1903, the prince arranged for the delivery of lectures in Paris, notably at the Conservatoire National des Arts et

Métiers. These lectures proved so successful that they were transferred to the Sorbonne, and finally in 1906 the prince determined to found an Oceanographic Institute. Mr H. Villiers Barnett, the editor of *The Continental Weekly*, than whom no one is better informed concerning the pleasure and health resorts of the Riviera, obtained a copy of the letter in which the prince explains to the French Government his position and his intentions with regard to this proposed institute. The letter is addressed to the French Minister of Public Instruction, and Mr Barnett translated it into English for his paper:

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,—Having devoted my life to the study of the Oceanographic Sciences I have been struck by the importance of their action on several branches of human activity, and I have striven to obtain for them that place which they should occupy in the solicitude of governments not less than in the preoccupations of the learned.

"Several States have already organised scientific cruises in all the seas of the globe and have established a solid basis for the development of Oceanography; but France, notwithstanding that the science of the sea presents for her a special interest, has not treated it with the same liberality as she has treated other branches of Science. Nevertheless, for some years past I have caused to be given in Paris a series of lectures which have been followed by audiences each time more numerous and more attentive, while the public powers, in the persons of President Loubet and members of the Government, have shown a certain interest in them by their presence.

"I then wished to fill a gap by myself creating and establishing in Paris a centre of Oceanographic Study closely connected with the laboratories and collections of the Oceanographic Museum at Monaco, where for the last twenty years I have gathered the results of my personal labours and those of eminent collaborators who have come to me from all the countries of Europe.

"Informed by the friends of the University [of Paris] that a scheme of enlargement, necessary to the prosperity of that illustrious body, had met with difficulties and delays in its realisation, I thought that the combination of the two plans would be beneficial to both; and I offered to the Vice-Rector my collaboration therein. Subsequently it became possible for me to take my part in raising the capital necessary to acquire the land which the Sorbonne needed, and in return, the University granted me a site, on part of this new estate, on which I wish to erect the Oceanographic Institute whose Statutes I now communicate to you.

"It is a great pleasure to me thus to acknowledge the hospitality which Paris and France accord to all thought-workers; I add that I do not limit the patrimony of the new Institute to the building which will be erected in Paris: the Oceanographic Museum at Monaco, with its laboratories, collections, aquariums and dependences are, from now on, the property of the Oceanographic Institute, to which I have given a working capital of four millions [of francs].

"Desirous that this institution shall survive me under the conditions which have appeared to me likely to assure the services which I expect from it for the progress of Science, I beg the French Government to recognise it as of public utility and to approve its Statutes.

"Will you accept, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my high consideration.

"(Signed) ALBERT, PRINCE OF MONACO.

"*April* 25, 1906.
"PALAIS DE MONACO."

The land acquired by the Paris University is higher than the old Sorbonne and the Pantheon. It is farther up the rue St Jacques, and here a large clearance has been made. On the vacant space thus created the first structure to be raised was the Oceano-

graphic Institute. But there has been a good deal of misrepresentation with regard to the legal standing of the institute and the museum. This, however, is clearly explained in the official organ of the principality, the *Journal de Monaco*; and, like that which appears in the London *Gazette* or the Paris *Journal Officiel*, may be considered legally correct. The *Journal de Monaco* recognises that the letter to the Minister of Public Instruction, dated the 25th April 1906, and quoted above, may be taken as the basis of the whole question. To ensure that the work to which the prince has consecrated the greater part of his life shall continue indefinitely, he has created an institute for the study of the geography, geology, hydrology, biology, zoology, bacteriology, etc., of the sea. This institution must continue to collect specimens, to organise classes and lectures, to direct and provide financial means for scientific missions, and to publish the results of its researches.

To realise such a programme it was necessary to find a town frequented by students from all nations, who were willing to follow special courses of study, and to whom such teaching would be a novelty, not likely to clash with any existing school. These conditions were found in Paris, and there was further the appropriate circumstance that the university was extending its buildings. This provided an opportunity to secure land for the proposed Oceanographic Institute close to the Faculty of Sciences. The letter in question was written, therefore, in the spring of 1906, but it did not, as sometimes supposed, offer as a free gift to the French Government the institute and the endowment of 4,000,000 francs. The letter simply points out the advantage that students of the University of Paris would derive from such an institute, and asks the Government to approve its statutes and recognise it as an institution of "public utility." Accordingly, a decree to that effect was issued by the French Government on the 16th May 1906. In virtue of this Act the institute is governed, with regard to its administration

and finances, by a Council of Administration ; and from the technical and scientific point of view by an International Improvements Committee (*Comité international de perfectionnement*). It is an autonomous and independent establishment, possessing a legal and civil existence. The only provision made for the very unlikely event of the disestablishment of this institute is that, supposing the authorisation were withdrawn, and the councils and committees dissolved, the endowment and the building belonging to the institute would be handed over to the University of Paris, but under the clearly stipulated condition that the object held in view by the donors and testators should be carried out. If this were not done the donors and testators, or their heirs and assigns, would have the right to claim their share of the property.

The Oceanographic Museum at Monaco, as has been explained, is part of the patrimony of the institute. It is the private property of the institute which, in virtue of the Decree of the 16th May 1906, enjoys all civil rights, and may therefore own property. The museum no more belongs to a foreign government than the institute itself. Its management is bound to respect the will of its founder, and to continue to conduct it for the purpose of the collection and study of all that relates to the ocean and its contents.

The museum also remains an integral part of the principality. By handing it over to the Oceanographic Institute the museum is withdrawn from the private domains of the prince ; but, like the rest of the principality, it remains under his rule and sovereignty. The museum is in the same position as all other property in the principality, whether such property be owned by a native Monegasque or by a foreigner. Therefore, the prince still exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction over the museum. Any infraction of the law taking place in the museum would be dealt with as if it had occurred in any other part of the principality. Should it be necessary at any future time to impose taxes on house and landed

property, the museum would be taxed as all similar property. Being no longer a part of the prince's domain or private property, it could only be exempted from taxation by a special order, which could at any time be rescinded. So also all objects brought to the museum are liable to custom duties as if taken to any other part of the principality. The State, of course, retains the right of requisition and of occupation. Thus the museum is the private property of a scientific institute which has its headquarters at Paris, but this does not mean that it is a French institution. Its headquarters might just as well be in Rome or any other town. Like all other property in the principality, the museum is subject to the laws of the principality.

The *Journal de Monaco* explains that if Prince Albert desired to give what he had created as international a character as possible, it was necessary, first of all, to place it above the fluctuations of politics, and to protect it against individual enterprises. The study of the ocean is so wide a subject that it soon oversteps the narrow boundaries of any one nation. Further, the prince realises that the conquests of science should form the philosophical patrimony of all mankind. Therefore the institute, the museum, and the studies and researches they are to facilitate will not be French or Monegasque, or the property of one particular nation; on the contrary, they will provide a means of uniting men from every nation in the accomplishment of a work destined to benefit all humanity.

CHAPTER XII

INAUGURATION OF THE OCEANOGRAPHIC MUSEUM AT MONACO AND THE OCEANOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE AT PARIS

ELEVEN years were required to build the museum, and it will contain the results of researches spread over a quarter of a century. Now at last the time had arrived when its doors might be opened and the public at large invited to see for themselves what oceanography means. For this purpose a great ceremony and fête were to be organised. The need was felt for a sort of apotheosis as a well-merited expression of gratitude for what had been done, and also as a demonstration that would attract and instruct those who did not yet realise the importance of the progress science had achieved. It was on Monday, the 28th of March 1910, that the museum was solemnly inaugurated. Among the many distinguished persons present on this joyful occasion was M. Emile Loubet, former President of the French Republic, and now Vice-President of the Administrative Council of the Oceanographic Institute. The French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese governments sent official representatives.

From Great Britain came Professor J. Y. Buchanan, delegate of the Royal Society, and Mr Scott Keltie of the Royal Geographical Society; but, taking into account the benefits maritime countries derive from oceanography, the British Government should assume a leading part on such occasions. In any case it might be expected that Great Britain would send as influential and important a deputation as Germany, Italy or France. To what extent it may be necessary to compete with Germany in the building of *Dreadnoughts* is a matter on which opinions

are divided, but there can be no two opinions as to the utility of oceanographic science. The German Government is accused of pursuing a bellicose naval policy; yet Great Britain allows itself to be almost effaced when, as on this occasion, it is a question of encouraging a purely pacific and truly humanitarian undertaking. There was no special envoy from the British Government or from the British fleet, no one to stand by the side of the Cabinet Ministers, the Admirals and the Ambassadors sent by other countries. It is hardly necessary to say that the schools, academies and institutes of different countries were fully represented. The orchestra, under M. Jehin, rendered with the perfection of execution for which it is renowned, the *Ouverture de Fête*. This is a symphony which Saint-Saëns had composed expressly for the occasion, and it was enthusiastically received. The prince now rose and delivered a remarkable speech. He pointed out that oceanographic science, though young, had already its place in the world's intellectual domain. To-day the science of the sea was entering the palace an architect had built as the home of the two directing forces in the civilisation of the world—Art and Science. Men, ships, governments, all were helping. The German Emperor had sent ships to study the Indian Ocean, and had raised a meteorological and atmospheric observatory on one of the highest points dominating the sea, the rock of Teneriffe. The late King Carlos of Portugal consecrated all his leisure time to oceanographic study till he was struck down by a kind of return current which brings back some of the savage characteristics we hoped to have outgrown:

"But atavism, the force that prolongs through successive states of being the influence of anterior generations, only yields very slowly to another force that is eternal in the universe, the force of evolution, which carries men towards a future Time veils from our sight.

"When we speak of science we must congratulate Germany and the Scandinavian countries, where both the

nation and the state have felt that scientific culture is the secret of civilisation, where so many citizens constitute centres of intellectual development, where culture presides over the orientation of ideas."

Then, although great Britain was so poorly represented at the ceremony, the prince proceeded to pay homage to what Englishmen had done:

"On such an occasion all present will not fail to think of those learned men whom we cannot forget, those Englishmen who were the first to efface the general ignorance concerning the inhabitable character of deep water. We recall the early and glorious cruises of Carpenter and Wyville Thompson, of John Murray and Buchanan. We remember the services rendered by Milne Edwards, a master in the science, and of Magnaghi, whose work opened the way in Italy for the science of the sea."

After enumerating the scientists of other nations who had given much help to the cause, the prince expatiated on the wonderful fact that oceanographic science showed more and more clearly how the origin of life was to be found in the sea. This had greatly intensified the interest felt in such researches. Also it had now been demonstrated that deep water, instead of being uninhabited, contained a far more numerous population than could possibly exist on land, where every creature had to live on the same level. Then it was to the sea that everything belonging to the land ultimately flowed, and might there be converted into an organism. The sea was the cradle of the first living cell. "Having reached this point," the prince exclaimed, "we may be led to believe that as beings living on the earth we are renegades who have escaped from the ocean, thanks to the energy we have distilled from the bosom of the waters, which supplies to our flesh the forces of life and of reproduction.

"But are we more happy under the brilliant sunshine than we were in the phosphorescences of the deep waters? Are we happier in the subtle and changing atmospheric

centres than in the immovable spaces where centuries preside over the transformation of living matter? If joy is to be measured by the intensity of the sensations which are derived from the spectacle of the universe in its march, assuredly we are favoured beings. But perhaps true happiness resides in the quiet depths where vaguely defined shadows pass silently through the glow of phosphorescent lights."

The prince then described the object of the institute and the museum, and expressed his confidence in the honour of men of science to continue after him the work he had began.

"I desire that this monument shall shelter without favour the labour of scientists; I hope it will never become any one person's particular vanity."

In conclusion the prince thanked all those who had helped him to create a new branch of modern science, "which has so much power in altering the conditions of life, the mentality of men, and the relations of peoples." Nor did he forget the workmen who during eleven years had placed stone upon stone till the final conclusion of the building. Not only did the prince speak gratefully of their services, but was careful to see that they were included among the guests who were invited to participate in the inauguration ceremony. After the prince had duly declared the museum to be open, M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, was the first to speak. The French Government had two reasons for participating in the fête, its interest in the science, and its gratitude to the prince for having established the Oceanographic Institute in Paris.

"As Minister of Foreign Affairs of a government whose constant concern it is to maintain peace among nations, I hail in this work of education, of study, of progress, an act of disinterestedness and of clairvoyance which merits universal gratitude, because, while endeavouring to increase our knowledge, it serves the cause of humanity."

The Grand Admiral Von Koester, speaking in French, said that H.M. the Emperor of Germany had since the laying of the foundation stone followed with the greatest interest the development of the museum, and now sent his warmest congratulations. In conclusion the Grand Admiral said:

"While thus carrying out the order of my Sovereign, I beg Your Serene Highness to be so good as to believe how proud and happy I am to have been selected for so flattering and agreeable a mission.

"The Oceanographic Museum which your Serene Highness has graciously placed under the high patronage of my august Sovereign is unique in the universe. Being the outcome of the noble initiative taken by Your Serene Highness this magnificent monument will for ever be a witness of the learned and laborious researches to which your Serene Highness has so faithfully devoted your life, and will lend precious assistance in the evolution of the sciences and the progress of mankind."

Vice-Admiral Grenet for the Italian, and Count de Souza Rosa for the Portuguese governments, spoke in equally enthusiastic terms. After a few words on behalf of Spain from Senator Odon de Buen, some verses entitled "Nef Triomphale," written by M. Jean Aicaro, of the French Academy, and set to music by M. Massenet, were rendered by the chorus and orchestra of the Monte Carlo Opera. Now three short papers were read by professors of the Oceanographic Institute. M. Berget described the extent and the limits of oceanographic science; M. Portier dealt with the life found in the ocean depths; and M. Joubin examined the programme and purport of the institute.

The "Inaugural March," composed expressly for this occasion by M. Léon Jehin, in which he very happily introduced the Monegasque Hymn, was then played, and the prince rose to conduct his guests through the museum. At the end of this ceremony, M. Pichon, on behalf of the French Government, presented the cross of the Legion

of Honour to M. Delefortrie, the architect of the museum. There now only remained an exchange of congratulatory telegrams between the Emperor of Germany, the President of the French Republic, the King of Italy, the King of Spain, the King of Portugal, and the Prince of Monaco.

Though the museum was now open to the public and the inauguration terminated, there were other fêtes and demonstrations to follow. In the evening there was a gala performance at the opera. M. Raoul Gunsbourg had composed for the occasion an *Ode à la Pensée*, which, when the prince and the foreign missions had entered, was read by Madame Bartet, of the *Comédie française*.

On the morrow, Wednesday, the Mediterranean Commission held a sitting in the meeting-hall of the museum, where lunch was served. Selections were given by the orchestra and chorus of the Monte Carlo Opera; these included a cantata which had been composed specially for the occasion by M. Bellini, formerly chief of the choir at the Monaco Cathedral, entitled "Ode to Oceanography." There now followed the long series of speeches. M. Emile Loubet was the first to rise, not, however, as the former President of the French Republic, but as Vice-President of the Council of Administration of the Oceanographic Institute. M. Loubet congratulated the prince upon "the incredible tenacity with which, even at the peril of his life, he had persevered during twenty-five years, till he had succeeded in giving us samples of the life that exists in all depths, even so far below the surface as 18,000 feet."

M. Emile Picard, of the French Academy of Sciences, expressed gratitude on behalf of the University of Paris, of the Royal Society of London, the *Accademia dei Lincei di Roma*, the Academies of Science of Berlin, Vienna, Madrid and St Petersburg. The learned professor pointed out that to be a proficient oceanographist it was necessary to possess extensive knowledge of geometry, physics, chemistry, biology and geology. It was not a ship, therefore, that was required, but a floating laboratory. For this

laboratory all manner of new instruments and appliances were indispensable, and had to be invented as the need arose. Thus and thus only could marine biology be developed to the extent of peopling the new museum with so many interesting and beautiful specimens of life below the waves.

M. Roujon, secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts, read the speech of M. Massenet, the operatic composer, recalling the services the prince has rendered to the cause of the fine arts, and congratulating him upon his achievements in the domain of the precise sciences. Then followed M. Perrier, in the name of the Paris Museum of Natural History, Professor Peuck for the Oceanographic Institute of Berlin, M. Deslandres for the Bureau of Longitudes of France, and M. Gabriel Bertrand of the Pasteur Institute. The latter explained what practical service the study of the living organisms of the sea rendered to the science of bacteriology. Mr Scott Keltie, delegate of the Royal Geographical Society, London, spoke in English of the great and stimulating effects the prince's investigations had produced among students of geography in all parts of the world. M. Girard, in the name of the Portuguese Maritime League, recalled how deeply the late King Charles of Portugal was devoted to oceanography. There remained more speeches, but it was now so late that they were taken as read and subsequently printed. One was from Professor Gerhard Schott, in the name of the German Maritime Observatory of Hamburg; another from M. Violle, of the Institute of France, written in the name of the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, and another from M. E. Levasseur, Administrator of the *Collège de France*. In spite of the guillotine process applied to the last three speeches the epoch-making breakfast was prolonged till three in the afternoon.

The festivities and celebrations were not, however, terminated. In the evening there was a magnificent nautical fête organised by M. Raoul Gunsbourg, Director

of the Monte Carlo Opera. Needless to say, an enormous crowd lined the shore. Never in the history of the principality have so many visitors been received. When the opera orchestra had played M. Léon Jehin's "Inaugural March," an antique galley was seen approaching. It was bearing Hercules in his course round the world. The god pauses in his journey, overwhelmed by the splendour of the sight, and sings a hymn bestowing his own light, his eternal spring, on this beautiful spot. Now Hercules comes still nearer and takes possession of the rock, which he names Monaco. Thereupon two other galleys appear, the one bearing the Sciences, the other the Arts; they approach, chanting praises of culture and learning. Hercules replies by a stirring song glorifying the sea and its mysteries, which man with the aid of science will one day master and penetrate. Then, followed by the galleys, Hercules advances farther into the port so as definitely to install the Arts and Sciences at Monaco. But there are opponents, the primitive inhabitants, half animals, half men, rebels against civilisation. They forthwith attack the galleys. A battle follows, ending in the destruction of obscurantism, and the triumph of enlightenment. The powerful baritone, M. Titta-Ruffo, sang the part of Hercules, and his voice was heard even over the broad expanse of the waters. After the pageant there followed illuminations, more singing, and a magnificent display of fireworks. Thus, with fitting brilliancy and manifestations of joyful appreciation, the monumental Museum of Oceanography was successfully inaugurated. It has been seen that some of the principal governments, universities and academies of Europe sent special representatives and spared no pains to show that they understood the importance of the work done.

There now only remained to open the permanent home of the institute itself. This was completed nine months later, and inaugurated on the 23rd of January 1911, at nine o'clock in the evening. The President of the French Republic, M. Fallières, sought by his presence to give the

highest sanction and mark of approval it was possible for the French nation to render. The Oceanographic Institute had been built by a French architect, M. Nénot, *Membre de l'Institut*, on ground secured by the university in the higher portion of the rue St Jacques. Lower down in the same street is the church of the Sorbonne, the new Sorbonne buildings on one side, and the *Collège de France* just opposite. It is indeed classic ground. The Sorbonne, as everyone knows, is one of the most renowned seats of learning in the world. It was founded by Robert de Sorbon, confessor of St Louis, in the thirteenth century, the object being to assist poor students to study theology. The church, the library and the main building were, however, erected by Richelieu, and it was merged into the university by Napoleon I. Thus to-day, in rough parlance, the word Sorbonne is accepted as meaning the Paris University, though some portions of the university, notably the schools of jurisprudence and of medicine, are in other than the Sorbonne buildings. The Oceanographic Institute, while so close a neighbour, is absolutely independent of the University of Paris. The building itself is Florentine in style, with a square tower which recalls the palace of the Grimaldis at Monaco. M. Fallières did not fail to praise the architect, M. Nénot, and M. Louis Tinayre, who is responsible for the mural paintings. These represent some of the operations carried on in mid-ocean for the collection of specimens from the lower depths.

At the inauguration the celebrated band of the Republican Guard was present to play the "Marseillaise" and the Monegasque Hymn. The President of the Republic was accompanied by M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Jean Dupuy, Minister of Commerce, General Florentin, Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, M. A. Dubost, President of the Senate, M. de Schoen, German Ambassador, M. Tittoni, Italian Ambassador, and Madame Tittoni.

The prince and the president led the procession, and the guard of honour presented arms as they entered the

The Oceanographic Institute, rue St. Jacques, Paris

building. They were followed by the Hereditary Prince of Monaco, who gave his arm to H.R.H. Princess Mary of Greece. Then came H.R.H. Prince George of Greece, M. Maurice Faure, Minister of Public Instruction, officially representing the French Government, the Council of Administration of the Oceanographic Institute, and many notabilities. Altogether some six hundred persons were present, and when they had assembled in the largest lecture-room of the institute the prince delivered the inaugural address. He thanked the President of the Republic, the representatives of the State, the Parliament, the Town, the Army and the Navy for uniting to confer the lustre of their presence on the inauguration of a new school now opened in the capital of France. After referring by name to several of those present, the prince said:

"Finally I find among you three men whose names I pronounce with feelings of deep affection and admiration. There is Sir John Murray, who will ever remain one of the loftiest figures of oceanography, since he played so important a part in the British expedition of the *Challenger*, the first that was consecrated to the science of the sea. Then there is Nénot, the author of this monument, the architect whose masterpieces will always testify to the persistent progress of the Paris schools. Finally, there is Charcot, the audacious explorer who has just returned from the Antarctic regions, where, to the honour of the French flag, he conducted a crew of sailors and of oceanographers."

The prince went on to describe the purely scientific and international mission of the institute. M. Maurice Faure, Minister of Public Instruction, spoke and proclaimed that it was the duty of the Government to encourage so excellent a work. After alluding to the prince's desire to maintain the international character of the institute, the minister added:

"But you also thought that the most certain means of increasing its vitality, of facilitating its action, would

be to place the institute under the protection of French laws and in the neighbourhood of that illustrious University of Paris whose doors are so widely open to new ideas; to place it in that noble capital which you love and which loves you. You were anxious to raise this palace in the centre of the old Latin quarter, the glorious cradle of so many discoveries, and you convoke the studious youths of all nations to come and listen to the renowned masters whose lessons will popularise the science of oceanography which you so justly and passionately love. In the name of France and of the University I congratulate you and I thank you."

M. Armand Gautier, President of the Academy of Science, delivered himself of a lengthy dissertation on the earlier efforts and gradual development of oceanographic science for the purpose of proving that the Academy of Science was bound to support the Oceanographic Institute. After this M. Liard, the Dean of the Paris University, spoke, and concluded by an allusion to the financial services the prince had rendered:

"The University of Paris is also aware that you are a neighbour from whom only good services are to be expected. Already you have given proofs of your liberality. The University cannot forget that at the moment when it was negotiating for the purchase of the vast expanse of land where the Institute of Chemistry, the Institute of Radium, and later, parallel with your Oceanographic Institute, the Institute of Geography, will be built, your intervention was decisive; and that without a donation from you this fine combination would have been wrecked within sight of port. Therefore the University is glad to hail in you a benefactor."

Finally M. Perrier, Director of the Museum of Natural History, made a learned speech on the unifying influence of the sea. He spoke of the life that sprung from the sea and the light that descended into its depth. But the fish went down deeper than the light could penetrate, and then they generated a light of their own and thus im-

ported a little sunshine into those dark regions. Unlimited by space or time, the science of oceanography needs the aid of the learned of all nations, of all languages, of all races:

"The profound sentiment of universal solidarity which such a work engenders is the best guarantee that the wishes Your Highness have so often and eloquently expressed will be realised. The rainbow symbol of universal peace whose first faint colours move with uncertain light across the sky has already served to blunt many bayonets, and will one day shine resplendent over the world."

When these speeches were concluded the band played Meyerbeer's third "March aux Flambeaux." Then the prince's aide-de-camp, Naval-Lieutenant Bourée, showed on a screen some of the marvellous colour-photographs he had been able to take of the rare animals captured during the most recent expeditions. After these interesting exhibits, there was a cinematograph reproduction of the ceremony at the inauguration of the Monaco Oceanographic Museum. This concluded the evening's programme. The band played the "Inaugural March" specially composed by M. Leon Jehin, the guests visited the various classrooms and laboratories, not forgetting the buffet, where champagne and light refreshments were served, and then the distinguished assembly dispersed. Thus by three great ceremonies, in which many nations and their governments participated, have the Institute and the Museum of Oceanography been officially brought into existence. First, the foundation stone of the museum at Monaco was laid on the 25th of April 1899. Then, eleven years later, on the 28th of March 1910, the museum was solemnly inaugurated amid public rejoicings throughout the principality. Finally, on the 23rd of February 1911, the Oceanographic Institute, built in Paris close to the Sorbonne, was opened by the prince and M. Fallières. Now the work is completed. A permanent school is established and endowed. It only remains for scholars

and students to make good use of the opportunities offered by the Oceanographic Institute, and it cannot be said that they have failed to appreciate these advantages.

It must be borne in mind that the institute cannot give a degree. There is no degree in oceanography as in medicine, in law, and other branches of learning. Therefore only a small number of students were expected. An attendance of thirty to forty would have been considered satisfactory. To the great surprise of all concerned, there were before the close of the first year from seventy to eighty pupils. As these students cannot hope to obtain any grade or title to put to their names, they come to acquire knowledge and knowledge alone; there is absolutely no other inducement.

The pupils have a choice of these professors. On the ground floor there is a classroom, and the laboratories are upstairs. Here each professor has a separate apartment. First, there is a large laboratory for his pupils, where all the apparatus and materials necessary are provided, together with a carefully diffused electric light. No money has been spared, and everything is done to encourage and facilitate study. Then beyond the laboratory there is the professor's private study, and on the other side his private laboratory. There are three such series of laboratories. In the first, and assisted by M. Germain, Professor M. Joubin teaches Oceanographic Biology. In the second Professor M. Berget, assisted by M. Klein, deals with the Physics of Oceanography, and in the third the Physiology of Marine Animals is taught by Professor M. Portier, assisted by M. O. Cassas. The latter gentleman is also the Secretary of the Institute and, if the visitor has the good fortune to meet him, he may hope to be shown many things of great interest. Though there is no museum here, in the broad passage upstairs there are unpretending cupboards that contain specimens to show pupils, and which ordinary visitors would be glad to see; notably some wonderful sponges and a few *cephalopodes*, the octopus type of animal.

In the basement there are tanks for small aquariums, not for show but experimentation. Already one very interesting demonstration has been made. It is known that fish have the power of changing their colour to match that of their surroundings and thus render themselves less visible and less likely to be captured. An ordinary eel, almost black in colour, was placed in a light grey tank. In less than a year the eel had become identically the same colour as the cement with which the tank is made. It was the first time I had seen a grey, almost white, eel. There is also provision here for sea-water, but as yet little or nothing has been done with live fish. Then we have a mechanical engineering workshop. This is very important, for many things required for oceanographic researches, expeditions, experiments and demonstrations do not exist as marketable articles. Those who want them must make them. Here all the machinery, the saws, etc., are worked by electricity. At the time of my visit the engineers were making a special kind of tubs for the collection of plankton, that fine dust which, floating on the ocean, is supposed to be the first manifestation of life. Finally there are big boilers to provide heat and hot water for all parts of the building.

Of course there is a library, offices and committee rooms, but the most encouraging feature of all is the Public Lecture Hall. This fine structure will hold 800 people, and there is an endowment of £240 a year so that popular lectures may be given on Saturday evenings. In response to a written application, an admittance card for the whole season is sent gratuitously. The applications are so numerous that the hall is not large enough to hold the audience. The practice is to open the door as soon as some ten persons have gathered outside. So eager is the general public to hear these lectures that they commence to arrive two hours before the lecture, and it is often necessary to close the door an hour before time, as the hall is already full. As far as possible, technicalities are avoided, the object being to interest the general public in oceanographic

science, and the intelligent population of Paris has enthusiastically responded to this invitation. On hearing of this success, it was impossible not to feel the contrast between the idle rich, who waste their time at Monte Carlo, and the industrious Parisian population. How many people go to Monte Carlo without learning anything whatever about oceanography, or, for the matter of that, about anything else of real use.

The working expenses of the institute in Paris amount to £2480 a year, all paid for by the prince. The pupils are not charged any fees. They need only make a written application to the professor under whom they wish to study; and, if the professor has no personal objection to the pupil, he is admitted to follow the lessons and lectures given. The institute also publishes annually four to six issues of reports of its proceedings, which are well illustrated, and distributed to public libraries in different countries. Thus is the work of instruction carried forward to the advantage of the community and at the cost of the Prince of Monaco.

CHAPTER XIII

THE OCEANOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

ON one occasion when I was speaking to a high functionary at the casino he chanced to come upon a photograph of the Oceanographic Museum. During a pause in the conversation he took the photograph in his hand and said:

"Here is a monument that will last. When the casino has disappeared and is forgotten this museum will still stand forth as a beacon of light, attracting the learned from all parts of the world, and receiving the grateful homage of mankind."

Coming from one of the principal administrators of the casino, during the height of the season, when Monte Carlo was thronged with visitors and robed in all its glory, these words impressed me deeply. That anyone thinking over the matter would in all probability make the same prognostication did not lessen its effect, for I was impressed not so much by what was said, but by the fact that the superiority of the museum over the casino was acknowledged at the casino itself. Of course it is quite possible that Monte Carlo will go the way of Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden or Homburg, and who to-day remembers these places? Only a few old men and women; to the modern generation they are known merely as health resorts, the mineral waters of which benefit certain diseases. The four walls of the casinos of these towns still exist; they have not been pulled down, but their glory has departed; who ever hears anything about the casino of Homburg nowadays? But the Oceanographic Museum is a magnificent and substantial building, so constructed

as to be the permanent home of a new science. So new is the science that even to-day there are many who do not understand what it is, and it will be some years before anything like adequate acknowledgment is made of the service rendered. Fortunately the museum constitutes an object-lesson. A man's brain must be singularly devoid of imagination if he fails to grasp, be it but in a very incomplete manner, the wide-reaching importance of the new science.

Nevertheless it must be confessed that the museum has not yet acquired the popularity it deserves. There does not seem to be anyone whose business it is to make it popular. People cannot be expected to understand unless some sort of explanation is given. A technical guide-book only increases the weariness of the visitor, as he fails to understand the meaning of the most important words. During the season, at least, there should be present at fixed hours, if not a professor, then a student of oceanography, so as to conduct parties round and awaken their interest. As one instance out of many, preserved in alcohol there is a dingy-looking fish called the *Halosauropsis Macrochir*. Not one person in a thousand among the general and ignorant public would stop to examine this specimen unless someone were present to explain that it was a luminous fish. Down its side there is a black band which, it appears, is luminous, and shines like the port-holes of a ship at night. Altogether this fish possesses sixty-four luminous scales, and can light these up at will, in whole or in part. Thus as it passes along it throws a light on objects to its left or to its right. What a problem these luminous fish open out. A few years ago people marvelled because they found animals of beautiful colours, possessing powerful eyes and yet living where we imagined there was absolutely no light. The deep-sea nets were expected to catch blind fish, whereas they brought up fish with larger and more powerful eyes than any seen before. Apparently they could perceive things where to us all is darkness. Many shone brightly, and

The Neolithodes Grimaldi, discovered off Newfoundland by the Prince of Monaco

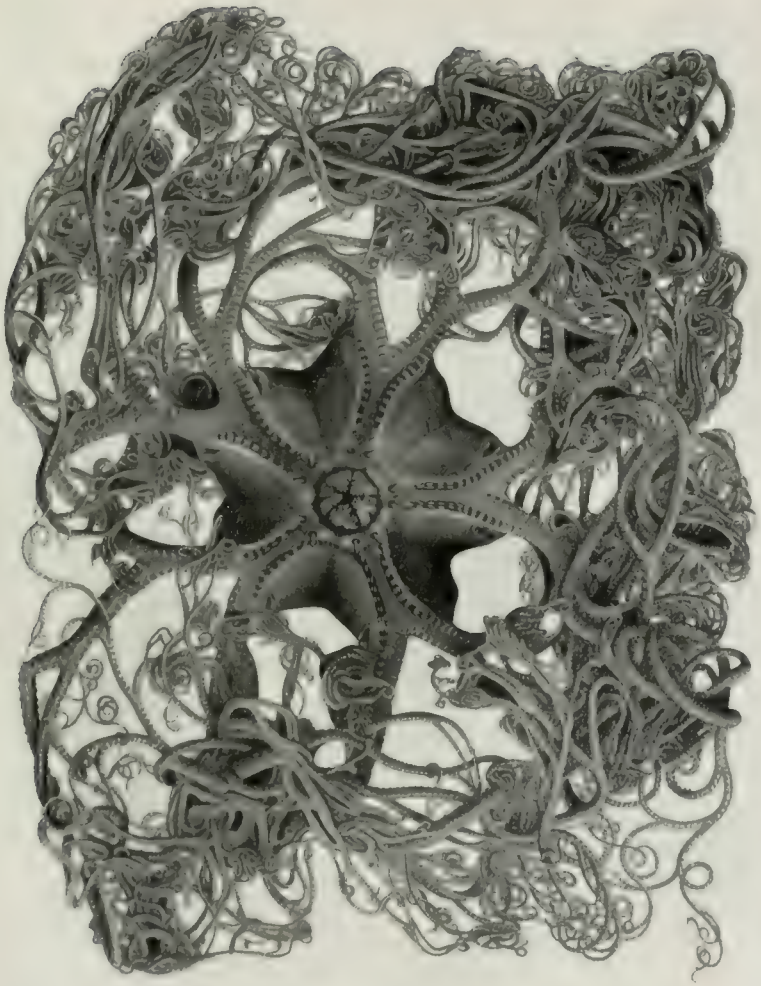
drops of luminous water fell from them. It is where the gorgons and irises flourish that a great crowd of luminous beings circulates.

The *Gorgonocephallus Agassizi* in its ramifications is one of the most extraordinary creatures preserved in the museum. It is reduced to about one-third its natural size in the accompanying photographic reproduction. Originally it was of a brick-red and orange colour that the alcohol has not preserved. Another specimen remarkable for its vivid red colour is the *Neolithodes Grimaldi*, so named because it was discovered by the Prince of Monaco. This animal should be able to defend itself, to judge from the number of spikes with which it is armed. It is some consolation to know that this *Neolithodes* was caught far away on the coasts of Newfoundland and at a depth of 4100 feet, for it is not the sort of creature persons fond of bathing would care to tread upon. Its claws are three times the length of its body. The photographic reproduction given of this crab-like creature is a little smaller than its natural size. Some controversy arose as to the species with which it should be classified. Ultimately it was decided that it belonged to a separate species, and was thereupon named after the Grimaldi family.

It would be a great error to imagine that the museum is a natural history museum such as exists in almost all the large towns of the world because it contains some specimens of animals. In this respect I was told an amusing story of an American who, having gone round in the blind manner in which most visitors stroll through this building, said he did not think much of it. The museum at Washington was much finer! Needless to say, there is no museum of oceanography at Washington, nor in Paris, nor in London or anywhere else. The only town where a small attempt has been made to establish such a museum is Berlin. The Oceanographic Museum of Monaco is unique; nowhere else in the world does such a museum exist, and it is about time that this fact should be better known and appreciated.

The majestic proportions of the home built for this science are in themselves imposing, though, short of trespassing upon the beautiful gardens of St Martin, it was not easy to find, on the historic rock of Monaco, a site extensive enough for the museum. Finally it was decided to sacrifice for this great work of peace the old powder magazines which stood at the eastern extremity of these gardens. Here the ground sloping seawards a little distance ceases abruptly where the rock stands perpendicularly over the waters. There was no even ground for the foundations. Piles had to be employed to carry the museum across the declivity so that its outer or farther wall should rest on the lower part of the rock before it rises vertically from the sea. These difficulties are best appreciated when the building is viewed from the sea. The great arches of solid masonry with the wild irregular rocks showing under them afford a wonderful contrast between the geometrical symmetry of the architecture and the glorious freedom from discipline that characterises nature's rude work. By building over the sloping ground, land which had been useless was now employed. The entrance to the museum is on a level with the summit or normal plan of the rock, and faces the old town. The width of the museum covers the space reaching to the extreme end of the declivity over which the piles are built. Between these piles, and below the main building of the museum, descending therefore nearer to the sea, room has been found for two basement floors. They have good windows overlooking the sea on one side but on the other side there is only the hard rock. The lower basement, being nearest to the supply of sea water, is well suited for the aquarium. There is also ample space for numerous laboratories where scientists work, and cool rooms built close to the rock which serve to stow away the hundreds of specimens that have not yet been studied and classified.

The calcareous stone from the neighbouring heights of La Turbie has been employed for the building. It is exceptionally hard and durable, very similar indeed to



The Gorgonocephalus Agassizi at the Oceanographic Museum

the stone used for lithography. Some of the larger blocks selected for ornamental purposes, such as the columns of the frontage, come from Brescia, they also are very hard and durable. Indeed the first impression produced is that of something massive, substantial, evidently intended to last for ages. The central part of the museum is square, 65 feet 6 inches by 65 feet 6 inches; on each side there are wings identical in size, and measuring 131 feet in length, and 49 feet in width. The total length of the building is 100 metres, or 328 feet. Still more emphatic, as indicating that the museum is meant to resist indefinitely the assaults of time, is the fact that the principal walls are from $8\frac{1}{4}$ to $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet thick. This circumstance is worth noting, for it characterises the whole enterprise. It is not an undertaking that is going to live and die with the Prince of Monaco, as if it were only a personal hobby. This museum is a temple raised to a wondrous science, on the spot specially favoured by the great sun and sea god, Herakles, Melkarth or Hercules. The rock that shelters the port of Hercules now serves as the foundation for the new temple. Where the god personifying the Phœnicians who travelled on the sea used to be worshipped, to-day a new divinity who will conduct man above and below the sea is adored in the manner of modern science.

The principal entrance is from the Avenue Saint-Martin. There is a wide space in front. This, while serving the practical purpose of giving carriages room to turn and to wait, enables the visitor to stand away far enough to obtain a good view of the building, and to observe the harmony of its architectural proportions. The chief decorative features are the monolithic columns, and like the rest of the structure they suggest strength and durability. It would seem as if the spirit of Hercules still inspired the dwellers on the rock that bore his temple for several centuries. If the walls are thick and strong, the columns that ornament them consist of huge stones, 26 feet high, and weighing 16 tons each. They form the

frontage of the first floor, not the ground floor, which is less lofty. The first floor is 36 feet high; its interior is surrounded by a gallery.

The sculpture of the façade is as original as it is appropriate. The usual conventional designs are absent, their place being taken by decorations akin to the object of the museum. Instead of flowers, arabesques or other commonplace ornamentation, we find sculptures of animals discovered in the deep waters such as the *geryon*, the fish named after the monster with three bodies which Hercules killed, the *polycheles*, captured at a depth of 6000 feet, and many other strange creatures. The frontage bears the arms of Monaco, and this is more conventional, but then they are surmounted by a gigantic albatross and a sea eagle. Other portions of the frontage are the work of M. Dussart, the sculptor, who, in a series of allegorical groups endeavours to represent Truth unveiling to Science the Forces of Nature, and Progress advancing to the assistance of Humanity. Above these sculptures are the names of the ships which have most contributed to the new science, such as the *Talisman*, the *Challenger*, the *Valdivia*, the *Hirondelle* and the *Princesse Alice*.

The broad and raised foot space before the main entrance numbers thirteen steps. The visitor then reaches the beautiful wrought-iron door designed by M. Delefortrie and penetrates into the vestibule. Here are the turnstiles where a franc is generally charged for entrance, and here also useful purchases may be made of books about the museum, and the autobiography of a portion of the prince's life entitled "La Carrière d'un Navigateur." This most captivating story has been admirably translated into English by Mr H. Villiers Barnett, and should be read by all who are interested in the sea, in travels, in adventures, in Monaco, and in its prince. Photographs and post cards are also on sale. Some of the latter are decorated with seaweeds pasted on the card and touched up with paint to render the picture complete. But unfortunately the name of the seaweed is not given. A few words of

simple explanation would render the cards much more interesting and valuable. Inside the building, as outside, all the ornamentation recalls the purpose of the museum. It is ships, fish, ropes, pulleys. Even the knobs of the balustrade that protects the monumental stairs are in the form of sea-shells. The great lustre in the central hall or reception saloon represents a Medusa. This is a noble hall measuring 23 feet in height, and forming a perfect square of 59 feet on each side. The smaller lustres in the four corners have been supposed to imitate sea-urchins, but in reality they are intended to represent microscopic marine organisms belonging to the radiate group. Both were designed by M. Constant Roux, who won the *Grand Prix de Rome*, and both depict gelatinous, transparent fish capable of emitting light. They may suggest an abundance of romantic symbolism, for was not the Medusa one of the three Gorgon sisters who turned to stone all on whom they fixed their eyes ? Loved by Neptune, slain by Perseus, the head of Medusa, when affixed to Minerva's shield, still preserved its hypnotic powers, just as water petrifies that over which it flows. To-day the strange maritime creature of whom the sea god was enamoured serves as the design of the central lustre at the Oceanographic Museum.

Pushing through the first glass doors, the visitor is confronted with a white marble statue of H.S.H. Prince Albert I. of Monaco, which was offered to the prince by his admirers, who commissioned for the work the well-known member of the *Institut*, Monsieur D. Puech. It now constitutes one of the most popular portraits of the prince extant. On the wall immediately behind the statue are two tablets. One gives the names of the Monegasques who subscribed for this gift to their prince. The other bears the names of the foreigners who were also anxious, by contributing, to show that they shared in the admiration felt for the prince and his scientific achievements. First on this list comes H.I.M. William II., Emperor of Germany, followed by the

names of their Majesties Carlos I. of Portugal, Alfonso XII. of Spain, William II. of Würtemberg, H.R.H. the Duke of Oporto, H.I.H. Prince William of Hohenzollern, H.S.H. Prince Charles of Würtemberg, H.S.H. Prince de Radolin, the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, a very long list of senators, deputies, medical men, artists (notably M. Henri Neuville), scientists (notably Professor J. Y. Buchanan of Christ College, Cambridge), and financiers (notably the Baron Henri de Rothschild).

Beyond what has been described there is not much to be seen in the central or reception hall. The western wing of the museum is devoted to the conference hall especially destined to accommodate Congresses, and for the holding of meetings and the delivery of lectures. Here there is some fine wood-work, and the ceiling is richly decorated by M. Cavaillié-Coll. Some admirable paintings by M. Hippolyte Lucas represent episodes in the Arctic Seas illustrating the exciting adventures attendant upon oceanographic research. At the far end of the conference hall, above the platform, hangs a large canvas by M. Monchablon. This presents the graceful white shape of the *Princesse Alice* floating on a sea so serene, so shining, so cerulean, that the spectator cannot repress a longing to be on board.

It may be noticed that black as well as white blinds are fitted to the windows, so that complete darkness can be produced when lantern slides are to be shown. A special system of electricity is installed, which, under 110 to 120 volts, gives from 90 to 100 amperes. Thus all that is necessary for scientific demonstration is amply provided and ready to hand. This illuminating force can be conveyed to whatever part of the hall it may be desirable to place the lantern. If it is night, after or before the slides have been shown, six handsome bronze lustres can be used for illumination.

It is, however, only on entering the eastern apartment or hall of the ground floor that the visitor will obtain the

first clear indications of what oceanography means. At each side of the door there are revolving globes. These show the world, one from the South Pole, the other from the Equator, the latter dividing the seas into three catagories. The oceanographer studies the relationship between these seas. There are first the seas entirely bordered by land, the Caspian, for instance ; secondly the seas, like the Mediterranean, that are nearly surrounded by earth ; thirdly, the free unrestrained oceans. But before we observe such smaller exhibits, very large objects in the centre will first attract the eye, particularly the giant skeleton of the whale captured by the prince. These bones measure no less than 70 feet in length, and therefore can scarcely escape notice. Just outside there are grounds where bones can be dried and bleached by the sun, for this is no mere show museum, but a great workshop for the naturalist, where every facility is afforded for research and experiment. Close by are other smaller skeletons, and well-mounted specimens of white sperm whales, sharks, walruses, and the embryos of some of these monsters. Fearful-looking octopi may be seen in bottles of spirit, and as their colour fades so quickly, pictures are hung close by rendering faithfully the hues of the living animal. In many instances the specimen is placed by the side of a painting made when it was still alive. While adding to the beauty and interest of the exhibits this is of the greatest assistance to the student. There are also to be seen life-sized models of Arctic Sea whales, dolphins, round-headed whales, and other large mammals.

Cases along the walls hold smaller objects, from sponge-like creatures which it is difficult to assign to either the vegetable or the animal world, to star- and shell-fish. Noticeable among the seaweed exhibits are some with marvellous tints of green. Many of the minor specimens belong to the sea-urchin kind. Then we reach various species of crabs, smaller jelly-fish and octopi. Here the coloured drawings show how much the beautiful tints have faded during the process of preservation. It

is impossible to over-estimate the value of these coloured illustrations, or to cease admiring their beauty. At the farther end of the room we come upon some larger fish preserved in alcohol, such as cod-fish, playing-fish, and a strange fish called the *petromyzon marinus* caught in the port of Monaco. Its anatomy or principal organs are exposed and labelled. It is a long, slender fish, the mouth is round, without teeth, and seems intended only for sucking. The genital gland is almost as large as the intestine, and nearly the length of the whole body, which is about two feet.

On the other side of the hall are exhibited the instruments used in deep-sea research. Here we may see how specimens of mud, sand, stones, etc., are collected at great depths and brought to the surface. Here are nets for capturing fish, contrivances for taking the temperature of the water, or for securing samples of it at a certain depth, and neither above nor below that depth. How was this apparatus controlled and made to work many thousand feet below the ship? How could the nets be opened or closed, the bottles for samples of water manipulated so as to be shut when full at the right depth? Men stood on the deck of the ship and accomplished all this though they might be miles away, and had but a thin steel cord to connect them with the apparatus they were employing. The new, the ingenious contrivances for accomplishing such work are shown at the museum, and this throws a sidelight on the material difficulties and obstacles that oceanographers must overcome.

To the scientist it suffices to have discovered and demonstrated an unknown fact. The new fact may be millions of years old, but it is called new if only just discovered. It may appear devoid of any utility whatsoever. This does not matter. In the course of time some other equally useless fact will be discovered, and when these two inutilities are brought together, something extremely useful may result therefrom. The man in the street, however, is likely to view things in a different light. He

has a tendency to inquire what is the use of the things shown. Oceanography is a new word, a rather cumbersome word, and the question is often put as to whether what it represents is really of value. Some answers to such scepticism will be found in this museum. To begin with, the ordinary mortal associates the sea with waves, not to mention sea-sickness, and on entering the eastern hall he will find a relievo of waves. These are designed to scale, being stereophotogrammetrically measured by Kohlochutter. This is a good long word, and worthy of an Atlantic roller. But the great thing is to know what is the real size of waves, for no one can tell by merely looking at them. In a storm they are described as mountains high, though they rarely exceed 35 feet even in mid-Atlantic, and that is quite bad enough for most travellers.

Having thus obtained some idea of the size of waves, we next come upon Professor Regnard's experiments for ascertaining how far down the light can penetrate into the water of the sea, and for conveying an electric light deep down into the water. Here we have the actual bottles and tubs, some of them small beer tubs, and various forms of floaters that were thrown overboard to ascertain the course of the ocean currents. Each contained a paper with the following request written in three languages:—"Anyone finding this paper is requested to remit it to the naval authority of his country in order that it may be forwarded to the French Government."

Thus, for instance, in 1887, cruising the Gulf Stream for a distance of some 600 miles, between the Azores and Newfoundland, 931 floaters were dropped overboard. By the year 1892 as many as 226 of these had been picked up and reported to the authorities. The prince was therefore able to throw some new light on the course followed by the Gulf Stream. There is also a great variety of revolving machines with clock-work that look like anemometers, but their object is to measure the velocity of water currents and not that of the wind.

Having thus examined the movements of the water we must consider the quality of the water, and it will be seen that sea-water generally contains 35 per 1000, or 35 grammes of salts in a kilogramme of water; about three quarters of these salts are common salt. Where many rivers fall into the sea the water is not quite so salt, but where there is much evaporation it is more salt. Thus the Baltic is poorest in salt, the proportion being only 10 grammes per 1000, and the Red Sea the richest. If the sea were of equal depth throughout the world we should have a mass of water 3680 metres, or 4000 yards high, and if this were evaporated it would yield a bed of salts 72·4 metres thick. In order of solubility salts of lime would be at the bottom; the amount, proportion, and position of the other salts are given. To facilitate the realisation of what the depth of the sea means there are great squares of blue glass. The surface represents a square geographical mile or a sixth of a degree of latitude—that is, 2025 yards. The depth is measured in a similar proportion, but to make this even more easy to understand there are little models of the 32,000 ton Cunarders, the *Mauretania*, and *Lusitania*, sailing on the surface of the water. One column represents water that has a depth of 4500 metres, 4905 yards, while the big Cunarders from the keel to the highest deck are about 100 feet, or 30 metres. The next column represents a sea that is 9636 metres, or 10,500 yards deep. The wooden socket on which one of these graphic diagrams of water stands is cut in exactly the same proportion so as to illustrate the greatest depth attained by any boring made in the solid earth. This is at Cynchow, in Upper Silesia, where they penetrated 2240 metres (2440 yards) into the earth. Oceanographers bring up samples from depths exceeding 6000 metres, so there is knowledge of what is happening three times farther below the surface of the sea than below the surface of the land.

Other models indicate that while the sea occupies the largest surface area of the earth its depth may vary from 3000 to 6000 metres, but the height of the land only

varies from 1000 to 2000 metres. Also there is very little land at these high altitudes, and it is not of much use. Half of the sea, on the contrary, is deeper than 4000 metres; and there is a tempting pyramid cut to scale to indicate how much silver this water contains. It amounts to no less than 13,300,000,000 tons of pure dissolved silver. On the other hand a very tiny pyramid represents the 325,760 tons of silver obtained since the discovery in 1493 of America, and reckoned up to the year 1905. The pyramid of Gîzeh, the greatest in Egypt, looks quite small by the side of the silver pyramid that could be built if it were possible to extract all the silver the sea contains. Indeed this pyramid of sea-born silver would be just as large as the cone-shaped Mont Agel that towers 3451 feet above the casino gardens. When to this store of silver is added the pearls, the mother-of-pearl, the coral, etc., obtained from the sea, it will be readily recognised that a graphic study of the ocean may not be devoid of practical utility.

Monumental stairs give access to the first floor and to a splendid balcony. Here, as elsewhere, the mosaics, the carving, stained-glass windows, and other forms of decorative work, all appropriately recall the sea and its many forms of animal and vegetable life. The disposition is the same as on the ground floor, a square central hall and two oblong halls on each side. In the central and square hall there is a fully equipped whale-boat, with the small cannon to throw the harpoon, and all the other weapons necessary for hunting the huge cetacean inhabitants of the ocean. Between the beautiful columns of Brescia stone are models of the prince's yachts, the *Princesse Alice I.* and the *Princesse Alice II.* In the corners revolving frames hold seaweeds carefully labelled in three languages. Others contain photographs that give views of the life on board the prince's yachts. Here may be recognised the numerous and distinguished persons who took part in the different expeditions. There are also photographs of some of the captures made, and interest

is sure to be felt, especially in one very alarming monster, for it was caught barely a stone's throw from the museum, at the Pointe de la Vieille, and this not in the remote past, but on the 14th of June 1909. It is a very fierce-looking brute, armed with a triple row of teeth, and at least as big as a man. Such a neighbour does not suggest the advisability of bathing in the open sea. Scientists have bestowed on this menacing creature the name of *Oxyrhina Spallanzani*. Perhaps such complicated nomenclature may deceive some into the belief that the fish comes from a distance, but that will not console those whom it may bite.

The great hall to the west, on the first floor, is at present held in reserve for the increase of the collections. For the moment it serves to sort and classify specimens, and is thus a workshop to which the public is not admitted. The hall on the east is devoted to the physical and chemical aspects of oceanography, to the larger appliances used for sounding and fishing, and also to certain industries of the sea. Immediately on entering, and to the right, are sponges, coral and pearls. Then come dried fish, such as stock-fish and molluscs. The gourmet will be interested in a collection of caviare, ranging in colour from the brown of the German lentil to dark and pale greens. No indication, however, is given to show how flavour and colour correspond. After this we have furs. There is also a curious collection of parasites that fatten on fish, including the familiar cuttlefish which we give to our pet birds so that they may sharpen their beaks. Bouquets made of sea-plants, pottery, and fans decorated with the flora of the ocean, conclusively prove that the gardens of the sea can also contribute to beautify the dwellings of man. From the centre of the ceiling hang huge nets and all manner of strange devices to bring up the treasures of the deep. Here are models of the larger nets or cages that can be opened when at a certain depth and closed again before they are hauled up. But for these it would be impossible to discover at what varying depths the different species live.

The two basements are for the most part devoted not to show but to work. Here are situated several laboratories, including a well-fitted dark room for photography, a library for works on oceanography, various studios and workshops for investigation or the preparation of specimens, together with the offices of the administrative staff. These premises are all fitted with heating apparatus, and supplied with gas, soft water and sea-water. Small aquaria can be placed in the studios or workshops, and there are movable operating tables for dissection and other zoological, botanical, histological and biological researches. Any accredited student will find here all that is required for elaborate investigation.

On the lower of the two basements the public will not fail to visit the most attractive and enthralling portion of the museum. The east side of this basement is devoted entirely to the aquarium. Here are glass tanks that vary in length from 3 to 19 feet. They are 4 feet wide, and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 feet deep. The sea is just below, and a gas engine pumps up the sea-water that constantly flows through these tanks. But at first there was trouble. The outer side of the tanks is of plate glass, otherwise the fish could not be seen, and this glass cracked, broke and let the water out. If not promptly rescued the fish would have died. Nothing struck the glass, it seemed to break of its own accord ; and at first it was difficult to account for so mysterious a phenomenon. The theory was started that there must have been earthquakes, doubtless very distant earthquakes, for the shocks were so slight that no one felt them, but still sufficient to crack glass held tightly in hard, inflexible iron frames. Then the more plausible suggestion was made that though there must be vibration for the glass to break this was not due to earthquakes. It was probably caused by the sea waves dashing against the rocks below. There might be small hollows where the air would be imprisoned and compressed by the inrushing water, and, on bursting forth again, produce minor explosions. There-

upon Mr Robert S. Ash who, as an English surgeon-dentist, enjoys a reputation extending far beyond the principality, made a proposal that was most valuable because it was practical and simple. He urged that the iron frames should be lined with some flexible rubber-like material. This was done. The rigid glass and the rigid iron being now separated by a yielding material, the vibration, however caused, no longer splits the glass.

Thus without further anxiety we can watch the mysterious life that has been lifted out of the mighty deep so that we may admire and wonder. It is a strange, an awe-inspiring sight. How little do we know of the beauty and grandeur that is close at hand! At the opera on the other hill just opposite we see ladies dressed in silks of the most delicate hue, wearing precious stones that flash forth bright and coloured lights. Such splendours could not, however, be compared with the glorious tints of some of the fish, and the daintiness of some of the sea-flowers that now live in the aquarium of the Oceanic Museum. There are appalling monstrosities too, side by side with the frail exquisite creatures, beasts of great strength near elf-like beings to whom gentleness and beauty seem a sufficient protection.

Labels and coloured drawings are provided to enable the visitor to understand a little of what he sees. But it is no great satisfaction to be told the Latin name of a fish. It would awaken interest and stimulate the visitor to study some of the questions at issue if a few words were given concerning the habits of the fish, its use and origin. The tanks at the entrance of the aquarium contain a great variety of star-fish that will surprise by their difference in size and shape, their yellow to scarlet hues recalling the fruit of the arbutus-tree which grows so plentifully on the Riviera. Then follow extraordinary crabs and lobsters, eels, flat-fish, stumpy, short fish, green fish with transparent green fins of the same tint as the green sword-bladed seaweed that abounds on the coast of the Mediterranean. The *labrus mixtus*, the lip-fish

and blue-striped wrasse are most beautiful, if seen in the right light. Nor do they endeavour to conceal themselves; on the contrary they come up close, as if disposed to stare out of countenance those who stare at them. The sea-horse near at hand is of a more retiring disposition. The cruelty that mingles with the beauty of this life is exemplified by the *scorpæna scrofa*, the red scorpion fish. It lies watching with its bright transparent red eyes that outshine the finest ruby. It does not seem living, so quiet and motionless is its attitude, but it strikes the approaching prey with lightning speed and remorseless force. There are ferrets in the sea as on land, equally cruel, graceful and agile; and though we may read of this in books we must go to Monaco to see them in life and action. As I looked and wondered, an admiring traveller standing near exclaimed that this was better than the aquarium at Naples, though not so good as that of Honolulu. At the farther end are great conger-eels, and here is a particularly fascinating and remarkable fish. He is podgy in shape, but when in the right light his shining scales are of a dark, deep, mysterious blue. A movement, however, a motion of the tail, makes the fish reflect different rays, and then he appears to be brown, till in turn this sombre tint changes to a silvery grey. Indeed many of these fish, the *Muræna Helena*, for instance, with brown body and green eyes, are constantly changing colour as they swim about. To watch their movements is like watching rockets that burst in the air. The closest attention is necessary not to miss the brilliant colours as they flash out and disappear.

There is also a large but shallow tank with live turtle in it, and some quite small glass tanks for the observation and study of diminutive animals, as these would be lost in a spacious and deep aquarium. From the scientific point of view it is not the more conspicuous animals and the big fish that are the most interesting. The tendency, of course, has been to study the larger species, but there is much of great interest in the customs and habits of com-

paratively unknown small types, such as the *gouania*, the *alpheides*, etc., and they are likely to supply useful indications to marine biologists. It must always be borne in mind that though there is much to interest and fascinate the visitor even if he is absolutely ignorant of oceanography and all that appertains thereunto, still the main object is to encourage research. Therefore, it must not be imagined that all the collections made are shown to the public. A certain portion of these things is used for exhibits, but a considerable part of the specimens is held back, put in the laboratories, and placed at the disposal of specialists. Many specimens, especially when there are duplicates, are preserved in view of effecting exchanges with other museums.

For twenty-five years the life of an unseen world has been brought to the surface, and to-day much of it is there in the museum ready to awaken the interest of the ignorant, and to supply the learned with the means of acquiring greater knowledge. No one capable of appreciating form and colour can fail to be enthralled by the vivid yet harmonious tints of the fauna and flora of the sea. In those who love and admire flowers, the sea-anemones, the multi-sized, many-shaped and coloured star-fishes, will excite equal or greater admiration. But the beauty of the flower intended to attract the fertilising agent is strictly utilitarian in its purpose. So also is this museum. It will spread the love of science, and it is the prince's conviction that all the forces of evil must succumb to science. "Science, which includes all light and all truth, is the force that draws men closer together." Science means peace, human progress, and "the conquest of the unknown is the only conquest worthy of the modern mind."

In the sea lie hidden the keys to all the sciences, for on the waters life began. The earliest micro-organisms are gathered from the sea and studied at the museum of Monaco. These of course include the plankton, to which perhaps we all owe our existence. This fine living dust

floats over the surface of the waters, penetrates into their depths, and, by destroying impurities, renders the existence of higher organisms possible. The human body is composed mainly of water, and this water is closely akin to sea-water. Minute organisms preserve the purity of sea-water, and the preservation of our health depends on the triumph of the friendly over the hostile organisms that are constantly attempting to invade our bodies. This is a fact that should bring oceanographic science home to everyone. Such is the scope and utility of the evidence, the knowledge now accumulating in the new temple raised to the enlightenment that science gives, the life it inspires and preserves. On the ancient rock where Hercules, the god of strength, light and vivifying heat, was worshipped, now stands, with solid walls, the majestic and lofty museum. It is a noble because it is a useful structure. It will fire the ambition and create thirst for knowledge in the minds of the ignorant. It will provide a haven for the learned and studious. It is a place of wonder and delight to all, and it stands forth overlooking the sea—a lighthouse of science.

CHAPTER XIV

ANTHROPOLOGY: PRIMITIVE MAN IN THE PRINCIPALITY

NEXT in importance after oceanographic researches, so far as the principality is concerned, is the great impetus given to the study of anthropology and human palæontology. These are not new sciences, like oceanography, and are studied by a much larger number of persons; therefore there is no need to demonstrate their importance; and the fact that a historic group of rocks and caverns known as the *Balzi-Rossi* or *Baoussé-Roussé* or Roches Rouges—the red rocks of Menton—used to form part of the principality naturally accounts for the fact that many years ago archæologists came to Monaco. Just above these rocks is the picturesque village of Grimaldi. It was in the year 1351 that Charles Grimaldi, Lord of Monaco, Menton and Vintimille, bought this ground and gave his name to it. He also constructed a fort, the ruins of which were recently unearthed. They tower some eighty feet above the edge of a high cliff which forms part of the St Louis gorge. The rock is called *La Grimaldi*, and its cracks and crevices form grottoes. It seems that once the Romans, and perhaps their predecessors, explored the palæolithic deposits of the *Baoussé-Roussé*. An Englishman in 1770 tried to dig into the *Grotte du Prince*. In 1786 de Saussure discovered a lime-kiln under the shelter of the *Grotte des Enfants*, 22 feet long; and other grottoes were used for the same purpose. Before 1848, Prince Florestan I. sent a case full of remains from these grottoes to Paris, but they were lost or destroyed during the revolution. However, in 1865, Professor Broca visited the grottoes,

and insisted that they were refuges where people went to enjoy their meals in security—a sort of prehistoric Ciro.

When, in January 1870, the railway was built on the uncultivated strip of land in front of the first four caves the distinguished French geologist, M. Rivière, was there all day long striving to impress on the navvies respect for the sacredness of the soil they were digging into or exploding with mines. By June 1871, M. Rivière was able to take a large collection to Paris, and next autumn the Minister of Public Instruction gave him an official mission, so that he was able to dig deeply and open several grottoes. The "Memoirs," published in 1873, testify to his activity. He had found only a few petrified birds, including a falcon the size of an eagle; but he came across many large animals such as wolves, antelopes, rhinoceroses, and finally human skeletons. There was the skeleton of the Cavillon grotto known in the world of anthropology as *l'homme de Menton*. He was found some twenty feet above the stalagmitic level. This skeleton is now at the Paris Museum of Natural History, by the window on the first floor overlooking the Old Orleans railway station. The skull is stained with red, and a number of shells of snail-like animals adhere to it. These are the *Nassa* of the Mediterranean. The late Dr Henry Bennet, of Menton, Professor Bennett of Edinburgh, and Dr John Martin of Portsmouth, a distinguished dentist, were all present during the week it took to uncover, without damaging, the skeleton. It is that of a very tall man, with perfect teeth, who seems to have died in his sleep. The general opinion, which was endorsed by Sir Charles Lyell, is that he belonged to the palæolithic period—that is, the epoch of the mammoth, when man had not yet learnt how to polish stones.

Most appropriately, at the Paris Natural History Museum, from the gallery close to the Menton skeleton a commanding view can be obtained of the life-sized reproduction of the mammoth-like *Diplodocus Carnegiei* which is at the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburg. This model

is a gift of Mr Andrew Carnegie to M. Fallières, President of the Republic. The *Diplodocus* was a giant reptile of the Secondary era, and lived at the end of the Jurassic period, on the borders of the tropical lagoons that stretched to the Rocky Mountains. It was found in Sheep Creek, Albany, co. Wyoming, and is 82 feet long and 13 feet high. Thus very important discoveries made in America and in the principality of Monaco are close neighbours in the Paris Museum of Natural History.

Soon other skeletons were found, including those of two children in what is now known as *la Grotte des Enfants*. The implements used by the men varied greatly, though the animals around them were much the same. The cut stones differed in size, and there was a total absence of tools made with bones. It was in 1882 that Prince Albert first began his researches. He dug with his own hands in the *Barma grande*, noting down at once whatever he discovered. His object was not so much to pick up specimens that might form a collection as to unravel, on the ground itself, every sort of evidence likely to give a picture that would facilitate the understanding of the epoch to which they belonged. Then he also conceived the idea of saving these grottoes and the precious evidence they contained from the depredations of scientists and of idlers. It was indeed necessary to see that what still remained should not be destroyed and wasted by unskilled explorers or ignorant tourists. When the prince was obliged to leave he insisted that M. Saige, Conservator of the Archives, should conduct the explorations on the same lines. Everything found was carefully sorted and classified in Paris, with the aid of M. Gautry, whose competence in such matters is universally recognised.

The prince insisted on the careful study of levels. If for a certain depth there was nothing, this represented a period of non-habitation. The things found above this level would indicate the progress accomplished when compared with what was found below the barren stratum. Everything was noted on the spot and the earth boarded

up so that it should not crumble down and mix the periods. The earth when carted away was removed horizontally, so as to keep to the same period. Then it was passed through a fine sieve, and thus small objects, such as pins, did not escape notice. To be more free and sure in his researches, the prince bought one of the grottoes, now known as the *Grotte du Prince*. The rapid progress of anthropology which took place when the prince was yet quite a young man, and the discoveries made in the land of his ancestors, greatly stimulated his interests in all that was connected with the origin of man.

Early in his researches the prince sought the assistance of the Chanoine L. de Villeneuve and of M. Marcellin Boule, professor at the Paris Natural History Museum and editor of *l'Anthropologie*. The services of Professor Verneau, for pure anthropology, and Professor Cartignac for prehistoric archæology, were also secured. Finally, in 1906, the prince invited the International Congress of Anthropology to hold its Thirteenth Session at Monaco. Specialists from all parts of the world responded to this invitation, and were well pleased with such an opportunity of personally verifying the importance of the prince's researches. Already in 1902 the prince had determined to build a museum to contain what was discovered in the neighbourhood bearing on prehistoric anthropology. Professor Boule was commissioned to organise this museum, and now it is open to the public every day. Here the Chanoine de Villeneuve, with his assistant, M. Frédéric Leorenzi, are constantly at work, and they, at least, know how to receive and encourage the ignorant inquirer. They do not take it for granted that the first-comer knows all about their science, and manifest impatience when their technical terms are not understood. Some learned professors are so absorbed in their studies that they fail to perceive that if someone makes inquiries it is precisely because he is ignorant. At the Anthropological Museum the reverend canon, though a man of science, has all the tact of a Catholic priest, and does not fail

to inspire the most ignorant of his visitors with at least a glimmer of hope.

It would be an excellent thing if periodical excursions, at a fixed fee, could be organised to the grottoes at Menton, beginning or concluding with a visit to the museum at Monaco, M. Leorenzi and, at times, perhaps, the Chanoine de Villeneuve himself, giving explanations. For nine years, from 1895 to 1904, M. Leorenzi dug and worked almost every day. The greater part of his time was devoted to the red rocks at Menton. But there were also explorations in the Bas-Moulin and in the St Martin rock near the Oceanographic Museum. In the Monaco rock—the far end is named after St Martin—some human palæolithic fragments were disinterred, together with the remains of stags, wolves, leopards, horses, pigs and goats. There were also some marmots, though to-day these animals only live farther inland and much higher up the mountains. At the Bas-Moulin remains of the Neolithic Age and of man were found. This is the new or polished stone age. By that time, great Britain was already separated from the Continent and the Mediterranean had sunk far enough effectively to separate Europe from Africa. The woolly rhinoceros was extinct, and races of animals were beginning to part company, the musk sheep travelling towards the Arctic zone, the lion and the hippopotamus towards the tropical zones.

After much collecting, the question of utilising what had been discovered became more and more urgent. When a fossil is found, it is covered with earth or other matter. This has to be carefully removed and the bone found under such a covering must be consolidated so that it may be preserved, and marked so that it may be recognised and catalogued; otherwise it will be of no service. The putting together of broken bones, the reconstitution of a shattered skeleton, the preparation of the specimen so that it may be placed in the glass case of a museum, require special knowledge and skill. The prince therefore sent M. Leorenzi to the Natural History Museum at

The Anthropological Museum

Paris, where he was thoroughly trained in the arts and crafts associated with anthropology.

It was under the guidance of M. Leorenzi that I visited the prince's grotto. On an excellent road after an easy level walk from the caravan station at Menton, the grotto or cave is reached. The accompanying phototypographic illustration shows a small portion of the wall protecting the approach of the cavern. But M. Leorenzi was armed with a big and heavy key which opened the door in the wall. It is situated immediately to the left of the railway line and tunnel, looking towards Italy. The cavity now disclosed was absolutely filled up, and the digging began at the top, where the opening in the rock forms a sharp point. At first only modern things were found, such as stones of fruit, shells and nuts. A straight line at the top shows where the digging began. Numbers are affixed here and there to indicate various phases of the work. Thus we can note a stratum some seven or eight feet deep where nothing indicating habitation was found. Then a red line painted along the side of the cavern shows the finding-ground. As we reach the deeper layers of earth we come to a deposit where the flint implements are not so well made, and in the stratum marked C we get traces of the rhinoceros and the elephant.

At Monaco one of the really interesting features of the Anthropological Museum is the graphic and easily comprehensible manner in which these researches are shown and explained. First there is a drawing giving a section of the cave, each stratum being numbered and coloured. Close by are specimens, each bearing a paper of the same colour as that given to the layer of deposit from which it was extracted. Thus we can find at once the rough flint stones of the earlier periods, the cut flints of a later date and the polished stones and pottery of a date still more recent. And while the development of man may be traced by the implements he made, so also is his mode of life recorded by the bones of the animals he ate, which have been petrified side by side with his own bones.

At last we reach man himself, but who will tell us what sort of man, or how he got there? We call him a Troglodyte, which only means that he dwelt in caves. As, however, his bones were found in a cave, this can hardly be considered a very illuminating piece of information. Some of the Troglodytes who lived in the caves of Grimaldi or Menton are said to have belonged to the earlier negroid race, and so we concluded that they came from Africa before the Mediterranean destroyed the overland route. But no skin remains to tell us whether these men were black; and now there are learned authorities who find that these bones compare better with the natives of Australia. The fact is, nobody quite knows, but everybody can see that this supposed negroid man had more teeth than modern men, that the bones of his limbs were longer, and his jaw protruded in a more bestial manner. As a contrast, there was also disinterred the skeleton of a Northern type of giant belonging to a more civilised and more modern race. Finally, in the highest strata, Greek and Roman remains were found. Thus is it possible to trace man back to the earliest times: but when I asked M. de Villeneuve how early this might be, he replied that he did not believe in dates. Probably man existed fifteen thousand years before our era, perhaps much earlier, but really he did not know.

In the lowest marine layer of the *Cave du Prince*, just on the other side and under the wall in the accompanying illustration, is a marine deposit. This is one mass of little sea-shells, and here was found the shell of the *Cassis rufa*, which comes from the Indian Ocean, and the *Strombus bubonius*, a tropical shell to be seen in Senegal or some similar and very hot climate. In this, the lowest part of the cavern, we are in the Pliocene system, or period when man did not exist, though he seems to have arrived immediately after. Here is the primitive elephant, the rhinoceros of hot climates, and especially the hippopotamus, which is so very susceptible to cold that the water at the "zoo" has to be especially

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM :
NORTHERN TYPE OF GIANT

warmed for him. Then, as the cavern fills up, the climate becomes colder till we reach the glacial period; and on this selfsame spot, only some feet higher, we find the reindeer and other frequenters of the Arctic regions. What are ancient temples by the side of this natural shelter provided by a slit, a crack occurring in a rock? Here we have accumulations that tell us something about the world before man existed. Then higher up we see the first appearance of man, the so-called negroid man who knew nothing, built nothing, but did manage to make a little fire by rubbing pieces of wood together. This type is found everywhere and on both sides of the Atlantic. He hunted by himself, for he had not even learnt how to tame a dog. If there are any horses or cows it is because they had been killed and eaten, not because the negroid man knew how to domesticate them.

There are nine grottoes in all at the red rocks of Menton, and the inhabited parts are carpeted with a stratum of cinders, the remains of innumerable fires. Here the animals were cooked, and some of their fossilised bones may still be dug up. But in these layers of cinders there are subdivisions. Burnt bones are the exception, the cinders are very small, mostly of herbs or brushwood. Only one large piece of petrified wood has been found, a piece of oak. There are five layers or periods of habitation in the *Caverne du Prince*; then we come to the marine clay that terminates such explorations. The distance from the highest to the lowest, or, in other words, the depth of the digging, is 71 feet, and it is the oldest of the caverns. It seems well established that there was a broad belt of land spread out in front of the rocks and mountains before the sea was reached. Here the animals whose remains are in the caverns, but who do not live in mountains, used to roam about, coming to the caves occasionally for shelter. And it was for the same purpose that men frequented the caverns, for they were not buried in them. To test this theory, the prince has sounded the whole coast and found that there is a strip of ground

varying from six to eight miles in width where the water at the deepest places is only ninety or a hundred feet deep. But at the limit of this ancient foreshore there comes a sharp descent as if the edge of a cliff had been reached.

As in regard to the oceanographic research, so with respect to anthropology, the prince has defrayed the cost of publishing large and beautifully illustrated volumes recording the work done and the discoveries made. The first is "Historical and Descriptive," and is written by Canon L. de Villeneuve. The second is by Professor Marcellin Boule, treating of the Geology and Palæontology, and the third is on Anthropology, by Dr René Verneau. As with oceanography so with regard to anthropology. All these works may be consulted at the museum or at the Municipal Library. No charge is made at the library, and every visitor to Monaco should go and see for himself, by the evidence these great and beautiful volumes give, what a mighty work has been done for the cause of the enlightenment conferred by science.

In 1902, at *Petites-Pyrénées* and *Haute-Garonne*, M. F. Regnault, of the French Archæological Society, found in a grotto some red and black paintings of a prehistoric character. These were similar to those discovered at Altamira in Spain some years previously. M. de Santnold while out shooting, in 1868, had pushed his way into the Altamira cavern. But he was not a man of science, and there were very few men of science capable of judging the value of the discovery then made. This opportunity of tracing the arts and habits of the primitive inhabitants of Gaul and Iberia did not awaken much enthusiasm in Spain. But when something similar was found in France a small subvention was obtained from the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* so that the cave of Altamira, in the north of Spain, might be better examined. Once inside, the explorers had to crawl and lie down on their backs to see the low and unequal roof that stretched out to the length of 130 feet. This neglected spot was now invaded by crowds, who came to

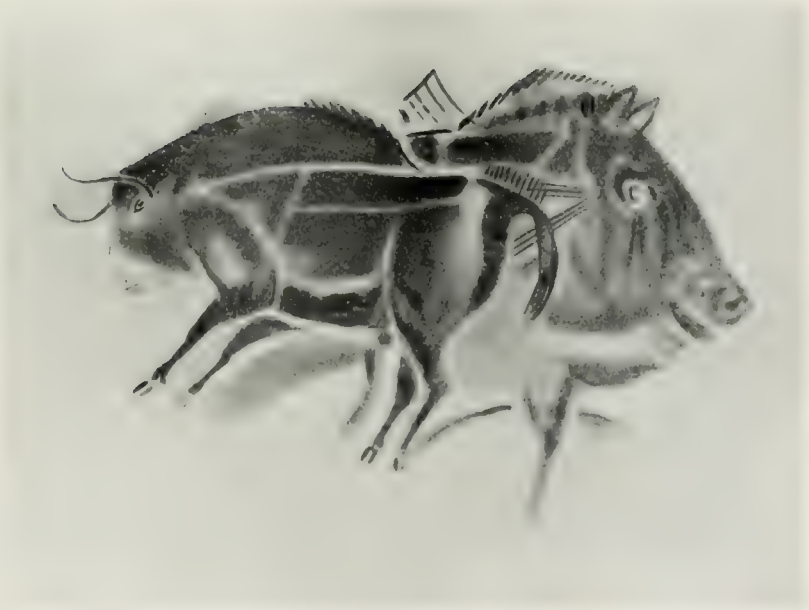
The Cavlrne du Prince: a Troiodyte Dwelling

find out what the explorers had come to see. There were many difficulties, but nevertheless Professor H. Breuil made some excellent copies of the paintings that existed on this roof.

By that time, however, the small subsidy was exhausted, and no one had the means of publishing these copies. Here it was that the Prince of Monaco stepped into the breach and offered the printing establishment of the principality to reproduce in the most perfect and artistic manner possible the copies made by Professor H. Breuil. It is a mystery how the original paintings were done and their colouring preserved. There is this to be said, they cannot be seen by daylight. There are traces of one painting near the entrance, but it has faded. Inside the cave there is no light at all, so there must have been a good artificial light at the period. The execution is artistic. Some of the animals represented are 6 feet in length. The fact that there is paint inside the cracks in the stone suggests the use of something like a brush to push it in. Some sharp instrument, a flint perhaps, was employed to cut a portion of the design into the rock that formed the roof of the cave. Ochre is abundant in the neighbouring iron mines, and may explain the colouring. The Troglodytes who lived here were evidently hunters, and they depicted the animals they pursued, but some of these exist no longer, such as the primitive stag and the buffalo. In one gallery there are twenty-three fine pictures of animals. If a modern had painted these there would be some trace of the light employed.

The reproduction of one of these pictures given here represents a bovine animal and a female bison. Above we see the portions of the design that are cut into the rock. The rest is coloured with brick-red or with black, and both pigments are admirably preserved. They are perfectly reproduced in the coloured illustration printed at Monaco. Three large volumes dealing with these prehistoric drawings and paintings have already been published at the prince's expense, and the knowledge of these dis-

coveries saved for the use of present and future generations. Not content with this, and realising more and more the importance of such researches, the prince resolved to create in Paris an institute to encourage all possible studies relating to man. It is called the Institute of Human Palæontology, and has been recognised as of "public utility" by the French Government. The prince has put at its head his old coadjutor, Professor Boule, and has also obtained the services of l'Abbé Breuil, who copied the paintings in the caverns, and Professor Obermaier. Then, so that the institute may live, the prince has given it an endowment of £80,000 or 2,000,000 francs. Further, he is erecting the building at his own expense, and it threatens to cost nearly as much. This will be a purely international institute and Sir Ray Lankester has been appointed to represent Great Britain. It will be situated close to the *Jardin des Plantes* and the Museum of Natural History. Its great purpose is to help the science that seeks, especially by means of researches and digging, to unravel the history and origin of man.



Pre-historic Painting in the Altamira Cavern

CHAPTER XV

THE ARCHIVES; THE PEACE INSTITUTE; THE PALACE AND THE LAWS

IT was during the reign of Charles III. that the classification of the archives was commenced. Some four years, from 1882 to 1886, were devoted to putting the papers in order. That portion of the palace which was used as the mint in the days when the Grimaldis coined their own money is now devoted to the housing of the archives. These are divided into three series of papers. First those of the Grimaldi family and Monaco, which comprise the secret archives of the princes and their secretaries, together with notary's deeds relating to property belonging to the princes and letters concerning their private lives. A few of these documents date back as far as the year 982. The second series are entitled "Terres de France," and deal with the duchy of Valentinois, other French titles or estates and the Matignon family. These papers take us away from Monaco and treat of the government of different parts of France, such as Cherbourg, the Channel Islands, etc. The third series, called the Dukes of Aumont and Mazarin series, bring us nearer still to general history. It is in this series that the letter from Oliver Cromwell is placed, and it affords us some insight into the character and policy of Cardinal Mazarin.

It was the historian, M. Gustave Saige, who first put the archives in order. But if confined in the palace at Monaco these documents would not have been of much use. Therefore it was decided to publish the more important among them, so that they might be consulted at the principal libraries in all parts of the world. Thus

in 1888 a volume of 716 pages was printed containing the reproduction of the correspondence, etc., dating from 1412 to 1494. In 1890 a volume of 906 pages brought the correspondence up to 1540; and in 1891 a third volume of 724 pages gave us the chief contents of the archives from 1540 to 1641. Then, in 1905, a fourth volume of 640 pages appeared, which should be the first volume, as it contains historical documents relating to the principality anterior to the fifteenth century. Here will be found a good deal of evidence concerning the raids on the coasts of England by Monegasque ships. There are numerous letters from the three great Monegasque admirals who served the kings of Naples and of France—Rainier Grimaldi, his son, Charles Grimaldi, and his grandson, the second Rainier, each in his turn the chief of the house of Grimaldi.

The Paris National Library has acquired a register of the accounts of the Treasury under Philippe de Valois, which contains minute details regarding the equipment and cost of the galleys armed from 1340 to 1346 at Monaco by Charles Grimaldi. This is followed by a description of their subsequent disarmament and sale to the King of France after the disastrous campaign of Crécy. Thus at Monaco we find not only the documents that compose the Monaco archives but, annexed to them, copies of other documents existing in other archives that supplement the information available on the spot.

Of the 207 documents that are printed, dating before the fifteenth century, 20 are borrowed; the others had never been published and the originals are at the Palace of Monaco or in the archives of the Genoese Republic. Among the documents copied from other archives is one from the Record Office, London, Chancery, Miscellaneous Rolls, Bundle 14, No 15. It is a lengthy protest, written in Old French, emanating from English prelates, lords and merchants, against the enterprises of Rainier Grimaldi, Admiral of France, whom they accuse of hostile acts perpetrated in times of peace. They ask that Rainier

shall be condemned and compensation given to the victims; or that in default of this the King of France, in whose employ he was, should indemnify them. There are letters from Edward III. to the Sicilian Government regarding the interference with Monegasque galleys which the King of England wished to hire, and many other documents bearing upon the naval wars waged against England by fleets from Monaco.

The d'Aumont correspondence is very interesting, and is connected still more intimately with general history. Thus, for instance, some of the letters, briefly to summarise them, set forth that the war is going on badly. Dunkirk was besieged by the Spaniards. A fleet sent to its relief called at Dieppe, and took on board 1500 men, provisions and ammunition. The Spanish ships could not have prevented this help from arriving, but Blake, in obedience to orders from Cromwell, attacked the fleet of the Duke of Vendôme between Calais and Dunkirk and took 15 ships as prizes to Dover. Cromwell was displeased by the French Government's rejection of the proposal he had made with regard to Dunkirk, which he desired to buy. He offered to pay 2,000,000 crowns and to lend 15,000 soldiers and 50 ships to the King of France and Mazarin to fight against the rebels and against Spain. Mazarin, approving this offer, would have accepted it, but the queen could not make up her mind to abandon Dunkirk, and it was too evident that Cromwell's purpose was to restore to England another Calais. The French were much surprised at being attacked by the English. When they protested that there was no war, Cromwell replied that it was retaliation for the pillage of English ships in the Mediterranean; but he released the French ships. In the meanwhile Dunkirk capitulated.

This vignette of history is an example of the glimpses that occur in studying the archives at Monaco. These archives, it must be noted, are becoming more and more valuable. Every year the archivist, M. L. H. Labande,

goes for a few months to study other archives or celebrated libraries, and there copies any documents he may find that might help to explain or throw a new light on what exists at Monaco. Thus there will be ever-increasing attractions for the historian visiting Monaco. For those, on the other hand, who cannot go to Monaco, there are the printed volumes just mentioned, and many others; in all about twenty or thirty publications dealing with what has been found in the archives of the principality. The archives therefore are a very important institution, though sadly neglected by the majority of visitors. This neglect, however, will not continue for long. The general public will discover, what the world of science well knows, that Monaco is not merely a pleasure resort, but a centre where much excellent and serious work is carried on.

Another centre of study is the International Peace Institute. It occupies a modest building, the chapel of the ancient hospital. This is near the Government buildings in the Place de la Visitation. The institute was founded and endowed by the Prince of Monaco in February 1903. In consists of an international peace library, where all the literature bearing on the question of the prevention of war is collected and placed at the disposal of the public. In a word, this is a centre of propaganda. The staff consists of ten Monegasques residing in the principality and forty-five elected foreign members. At the great Universal Exhibition held at Paris in 1900, M. Gaston Moch organised the exhibit of the International Peace Bureau, which was rewarded with the Grand Prix. The diagrams, the reproduction of the works of art and many of the objects composing this exhibition are now at the Monaco Peace Institute. During the season, from two to four P.M., the institute is open to the public. As it is just by the tram terminus, most visitors to Monaco must pass close to it, and should devote some time to acquiring at least a little knowledge concerning the efforts made to save the world from the scourge of war.

The Ancient Palace of the Grimaldis

There is an annual subvention of £240 assigned to the publication of works that may assist the advocacy of peace. Thus among other books and pamphlets printed at Monaco for the Peace Institute is to be found one by M. E. Izard treating the problem from the Theosophical point of view. M. A. Delassas gives a summary of Pacifist instruction. For this purpose he quotes the arguments generally brought forward in favour of war, or at least showing the difficulty of preventing war, and then explains how to deal with them. L'Abbé Pichot is publishing a new work for the Peace Institute which is likely to attract special attention. It proves that in the Middle Ages we were better off than in modern times for international laws to prevent war. For example, there was a law, an international law, which set forth in what circumstances war was justifiable, and when it could not be sanctioned. The Pope was the supreme authority, who could and did interfere to prevent wars. During the last few years the question of the prevention of war has been discussed at the annual congresses held by the International Federation of Miners, the miners feeling that they had only to stop the production of coal to render war impossible. These discussions were held by the representatives of close upon 1,200,000 organised miners of America, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Sweden and Holland. No one can have followed the debates without realising how strong is the feeling in favour of a general international strike against war. But this is no new idea. Nothing could be more thorough, more absolute than the general strikes organised by the popes and carried out to stop war. The most famous was the general strike and boycott ordered by Pope Gregory VII. against Henry IV. of the Holy Roman Empire. The word Boycott, it is true, did not exist in those days, nor was there a Confédération Générale du Travail to popularise the term "general strike," but never were the two ideas more completely realised.

All the barons and soldiers in the service of Henry IV.

were released from their oath of obedience. None of his servants was allowed to execute the king's orders under the penalty of being in his turn excommunicated. No modern syndicalist ever dreamed of such a complete general strike, and its success created the historical and idiomatic expression: "to take the road to Canossa." Here Henry IV., barefooted, shivering in a scanty linen shirt, came to prostrate himself before the Pope and humbly beg his Holiness to end the general strike. L'Abbé Pichot in his work will not, I am sure, employ any of these horrible and threatening modern terms. Instead of the proclamation of a general strike we shall hear of a Papal Bull of Excommunication. And the signal for the cessation of the strike will be the granting of absolution or pardon. The fact remains that the Church, internationally organised, checked monarchs when they wished to pillage and to fight; and that to-day the miners, internationally organised, contemplate a somewhat similar action. If for one moment we pause to reflect on the potentialities of these suggestions and consider that such thoughts are generated at Monaco, how can we look upon the principality as a place only fit for frivolity and pleasure-hunting?

The real fact is that, whatever may be said about Monte Carlo, the best of all good company congregates at Monaco. Here the members of the aristocracy of intellect are sure of a welcome. From all parts of the world men of science are attracted to Monaco, and at the palace we may also meet great leaders in thought, in the arts, in politics and in literature. But more enjoyable by far than the formal receptions are the intimate breakfasts given at noon, and generally followed by coffee and liqueurs on the private terrace. Here some of the guests cluster round the tables, others enjoy the beautiful view from the parapet over the bay of Fontvieille to Cap d'Ail with the towering Tête de Chien rising in the background to protect the palace and the principality. The prince will often select one of his guests and make

On the Terrace of the Palace

The Prince tells the President one of his best jokes

him pace up and down the terrace as if he were on the deck of a ship. This is the moment to get things said and explained which perhaps have been held back for want of a suitable opportunity. When his Excellency Monsieur Armand Fallières, President of the French Republic, was on a visit to H.S.H. the Prince of Monaco he was made to pace this terrace, and M. Enrietti, the photographer, succeeded in taking a snapshot just as the prince was indulging in one of his best jokes.

Subsequently Lieutenant Bourée was anxious to get a colour photograph of the President of the Republic, and succeeded admirably. The president's cheeks were rather flushed at that moment, and the flesh tints are wonderfully reproduced, as is the vivid colouring of the flowers and foliage. These colour photographs are most beautiful, and are invaluable as a record. When recently Lieutenant Bourée accompanied the prince to the courts of Austria, Belgium and Spain he showed some of the colour photographs taken during the later oceanographic expeditions. Though he put some of them in a lantern, in answer to my questions Lieutenant Bourée explained that they were of no use as ordinary lantern slides. First, an electric light of 50 amperes was necessary, and this could but rarely be obtained. Then it would not be safe to expose the colour photograph in such a light for more than ten seconds. This is not sufficient time to give any sort of explanation. Therefore, generally speaking, we must be content to look at colour photographs just as they are or through a magnifying-glass. When coffee is taken indoors instead of on the terrace, the guests who are not engaged in conversation are able to look at some of these colour photographs, and thus obtain a much better idea of what is seen during an oceanographic expedition.

Apart from the sciences that can be studied to such advantage at Monaco, politicians and administrators would find much to learn and observe. Here essays in legislation may be made which a statesman would not

dare to attempt in a great country. Monaco thus becomes a sort of legislative laboratory in which Europe may safely experiment. As an example in point, we may take the present high price of bread and meat, leading to many serious riots in France and Austria, and to strikes organised by the general public against the butchers and the bakers of several towns in the United States of America. During the Great French Revolution the celebrated law of the Maximum was enacted. Under this law the price of bread is fixed, and bakers are not at liberty to charge what they think proper. It will come as a surprise to many to hear that this celebrated law is in force in the principality, and not only in regard to bread but also with respect to meat. Now that the present high prices suggest the necessity of some such legislation it would surely be of practical use to see how the law of the Maximum works in Monaco.

It must be confessed that, judging from the inquiries I have made, the results are not conclusive. First of all, there is not enough poverty in the principality for the public to be generally interested in securing the strict application of the law. Certainly if a butcher refuses to sell meat at the regulation price as fixed by the law, the customer can call a policeman and the butcher will be punished. But such a customer would ever after find it difficult to get served. People complain that it is not possible to get good meat under the law and that the prince himself pays more than the tariff prices. But if the law is not strictly applied to the price of meat it is very effective in regard to the weight. And if, on the pretext of giving choice bits, butchers evade the law, it is strictly obeyed by the bakers, and this is a great protection to the population. For the butcher it is urged that he often pays more for his meat than would possibly admit of his selling at the legal price. It seems as if the Maximum had not been fixed with due regard to the quality of meat necessary to satisfy a large section of the visitors to the principality. In any case, it is almost impossible to impose a tariff on a market when there are other markets close at

On the Terrace of the Palace

Lieutenant Bourlet takes a Colour Photograph of the President of the French Republic

hand which escape from any such restrictions. The price of meat at Nice decides the price at Monaco far more effectively than the legislative enactments which are supposed to govern the principality. However, whether a success or a failure, the fact that the law of the Maximum exists at Monaco adds immensely to the interest of the place; especially to-day, when in so many countries the dearness of provisions has become an urgent and threatening problem.

In many other respects, which would take too long to enumerate, new laws have been enacted, old ones modified and jurisdiction simplified. All this is interesting to those who study such matters, because there is at Monaco a field for experiment such as does not exist anywhere else. A trial may be made here which it would be dangerous to attempt elsewhere; and thus again does the little principality of Monaco render service in the advance of civilisation.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TRADES, INDUSTRIES AND NEW CONSTITUTION

THOUGH in any case the methods of administration and the laws of the principality offer many points of importance, this has been greatly accentuated by the recent so-called constitutional agitation. Here in miniature will be found many of the leading interests that go to make the world's history. We can study them as shown on a small scale, and therefore are more likely to understand those currents that determine great events. Here then we have a population exempt from all direct taxation, living in the midst of wealth and prosperity, enjoying the benefits of lavish expenditure on local government to which they do not contribute, and yet, with all this, they are not content. On the contrary (it seems almost a case of mental aberration), they are actually clamouring for taxation. If we say, Pity the poor taxpayer, we are invited, in reply, to pity the wealthy Monegasque who does not pay any taxes. To be told it is a great misfortune not to have any taxes to pay is certainly a new experience, and this constitutes another interesting problem for the visitor to Monaco. Yet when we think of it, a reaction in favour of taxation is not only natural, but it might be taken as evidence of noble and high motives of the ambition to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The point is that though the inhabitants of the principality are very fortunate, they cannot lose sight of the fact that, collectively speaking, they possess nothing whatsoever. This does not matter so long as the present prosperity continues. But something might happen to the reigning family and the casino might be swept away. At

such a moment, just when their resources were vanishing and their property losing three parts of its value, they would be called upon, for the first time in their lives, to pay taxes.

The primary object of the agitation was to create a public fund, a Budget. There was at first no desire to spend such money. No one thought of creating places with emoluments to be given to agitators. The original idea was to collect some money to be put aside where it might accumulate. A people's sinking fund, a public property, was to be created. The people would then feel less dependent on the prince and the casino; and they might help themselves should either or both fail. But such wise foresight soon degenerated. Appetites that had remained dormant awoke and began to see in the agitation various openings. Instead of urging that it was necessary to put something by for a rainy day, they now began to say that the principality was wasting its opportunities. There was a great talk concerning vast enterprises that were to provide employment and make fortunes. The deplorable thing about it all is that the people do not understand there is already far too much enterprise.

Of course the principality is quite unsuitable for manufacturing enterprise. The land is far too dear and the difficulty of bringing provisions along this narrow ledge between the high mountains and the deep sea would handicap any ordinary factory or mill. Besides, while it would be difficult to feed, it would be quite impossible to lodge the workpeople. Then, as there are no native workpeople in the principality, why spoil the beauty and tranquillity of this unique spot by importing a large underpaid and therefore turbulent proletariat? Monaco has one of the best climates and is one of the most beautiful places in Europe. Is not this a sufficient endowment? To ask for more is to court the destruction of what exists. People come for the climate and the scenery: not to hear the rattle of mills and breathe smoke from factory chimneys.

Apart from manufactories, merely as a centre for retail trade this milder form of enterprise has been overdone. There has been a good many failures, not because business is bad, but because businesses are started on a bad basis. Formerly if a man opened a shop he did this in his own town, where he knew many people and was acquainted with the local requirement. He carried on his trade as conscientiously and honestly as possible in order to win a good reputation and ensure the future of his children by creating a business he could leave to them.

At Monte Carlo, tradesmen have come pouring in from various foreign countries, thinking they would make money in a very short time because there were no taxes to pay, and the place is developing with wonderful rapidity. Speculators of this description have no idea of winning a good reputation by honourable dealings; they are strangers in a strange land, serving other strangers who have still less claim to be considered as natives or even as residents. Such customers are not likely to return. Thus there is no care shown to keep up a reputation, but merely the desire to make the utmost out of each individual transaction. This is all very foolish, because even those who do not return tell their friends to buy all they require before they come to Monaco; and, when there, if they still need anything, then they are advised to do their shopping at Nice.

The tradesmen here are not the traditional tradesmen. They have lost the old bourgeois virtues that made the political and social power of the bourgeoisie so great that under Louis Philippe they became the real governing class. At Monte Carlo they are a cosmopolitan horde of gamblers rather than tradesmen. They do not gamble at the casino, for they are not admitted, but their notions of trade are gambling notions rather than conceptions of earning an honest living by steady attention to work and the rendering of genuine service for a moderate profit. Of course this rapacity fails to develop the friendliness and neighbourly feelings which form such a delightful phase,

The Tête de Chien Mountain, the Prince's Palace and the Condamine

especially of French retail trade. How agreeable it is to note that shopkeepers in the same district make a point of buying from each other. They are friends with one another and with many of their customers. This accounts for the comparative failure of stores in France. To the purchaser cheapness is not the sole object.

Then come swooping down upon the principality great financial companies or syndicates, and they also want to gain fabulous sums in a very short time. Instead of improving it they spoil the place with the ugly buildings they rear for their businesses, just as if the casino was not making enough money for everyone without the coming of these financial companies to render the principality insupportable. There has been too much success. The flood of money is corrupting everything. We long for the quiet and perfume of the lemon groves, the song of the birds, the sparkle and glitter of the fireflies; we get the shriek of the motor car, the stench of its petrol and the flare of its acetylene lamp.

In the Condamine district, and still more in the historical town of Monaco itself, we have somewhat less of the gambling element among tradesmen, and they have not altogether lost the old bourgeois virtues. The small retail shops are nearly all in the hands of Italians, some of whom have become nationalised. The others are so near home that they have not the notion of leaving as soon as they succeed in amassing a little money. They constitute a more stable element of the population. Whatever labour is required is also almost entirely supplied by Italians. Native Monegasques are far too well off to think of doing hard, physical work, and it is difficult to see why they should urge the introduction of new enterprises in which they are quite incapable of taking any useful part.

Fortunately, as already stated, there is a special Monegasque law concerning joint-stock and limited liability companies. They are more closely watched and controlled than in other countries, and there is not so

much danger of seeing bubble companies floating in the principality. In several cases, on the pretext that such enterprises practically enjoyed a monopoly, they have been made to pay a small sum ; and, what is more valuable, they have to show their accounts. Very wisely, these enterprises are, to a large extent, confined to one district. It is situated beyond the Monaco rock in the direction of Nice and called Fontvieille. Here a portion of the small bay is being reclaimed from the sea so that there shall be more room for future factories. At present the two principal establishments are a brewery on the Bavarian model and a very elaborate macaroni manufactory. Here again the visitor who needs food for thought will find it in the practical evidence these industries give on the beer and macaroni problems. We know that in England beer is an unsafe drink because there is no law to define its constituents ; hence such cases as the arsenic poisoning of beer-drinkers at Manchester. In Bavaria, for more than five hundred years, it has been a criminal offence to make beer with anything whatsoever but barley malt, hops, yeast and water. The beer at Monaco is brewed by German brewers from Bavaria, and the capital embarked in this enterprise amounts to £64,000.

The macaroni factory cost £24,000 to establish, and the elaborate processes employed to produce these Italian pastes in a great variety of forms are an interesting sight. In England it is not realised that the macaroni problem is practically the bread problem in other words. At Monaco there are one hundred and twenty forms for exactly the same paste, varying from the well-known spaghetti, tagliarini and canneloni to the less-known bomboloti, cockle shells, cornets or little baskets. The substance rather than its shape is, however, the important part of the problem, and it stands thus : Macaroni is made not with ordinary flour but with semolina, derived from the transparent, hard, for the most part, Russian wheat. This semolina contains from 50 to 55 per cent. of gluten or nitrogenous matter, and never less than from

Fontvieille, the Industrial Quarter

42 to 43 per cent. If we buy flour it will be made from tender, opaque wheat, such as the Canadian wheat, which yields only from 30 to 35 per cent. of nitrogenous matter. Now flour in France, as a result of protective duties, will cost from 50 to 52 centimes the kilogramme; but before this can be eaten we must add the cost of the labour of making something with the flour and of the fuel used in cooking. The macaroni, already made, costs 60 centimes the kilogramme, and needs less labour and fire for cooking. As macaroni contains from a quarter to two-fifths more nutriment, and only costs one-sixth more money, the answer to the problem favours macaroni as against flour. There is also the sanitary question as to how macaroni can be made without coming into contact with dirt of any description, and this also can be studied with great advantage in the factory at Fontvieille.

Among other large undertakings there is the manufacture of gas. It is proposed to remove this odoriferous establishment from the Condamine, to which it is no ornament, and install it in the industrial quarter of Fontvieille. We have also the electric power works, two steam laundries and a model bakery. Employing fewer persons, may be mentioned a manufactory of perfumes and an art pottery work. Altogether, the industries of the principality are valued at the following sums:—The casino, £15,000,000; the hotel industry, £1,320,000; other industries, £360,000—total, £16,640,000. These figures show more eloquently than any flow of rhetoric what the casino means to the country, and therefore it can be well understood that the inhabitants may feel a little anxious. The enterprise most likely to survive the disappearance of the casino is the manufactory of macaroni, for the macaroni is now sold extensively at Nice and other places outside the principality. Even without a casino—that is to say, a casino with gambling—the principal means of existence would remain the catering for strangers. Though in reduced numbers, they would still frequent the principality for the sake of its beauty and its climate.

Therefore any sort of enterprise which would spoil the beauty of the place must prove a lasting injury. In any case, an enterprise run by foreigners with foreign capital would not be of any assistance to the Monegasques should they find themselves suddenly stranded through the abolition of the casino.

In the earlier stages, the agitation was directed against the Governor of the Principality, who was accused of having badly advised the prince. It was only the native Monegasques who took part in the movement. They called upon the prince to act more as a father to them, since they had no rights of citizenship and lived under the patriarchal system. It was the father's duty, and should be his pleasure, to give privileges to his children. The country was theirs and his, and they were tired of always having foreign functionaries forced upon them. Later, the prince himself came in for some share of the unpopularity and animosity which at first was directed solely against the governor.

The prince was not slow to recognise that there was some foundation for these complaints, and has gone out of his way to confer posts upon natives instead of upon foreigners. The people also demanded to be more generally employed by the casino, and this has likewise been obtained. So there was some sense in the agitation, and it did bring about good results. Unfortunately there are not many able men in the country. Nor do the employees believe in the native administrative capacity. Still, when the agitation came to a climax and the people made a hostile demonstration before the palace the position was dangerous. Very fortunately no one was molested or hurt, otherwise bloodshed would have ensued. There can be no doubt that there was a strong feeling of resentment, and many demonstrators had revolvers in their pockets. Great bitterness was felt against the foreigners who had invaded and overrun the principality, doing everything there was to be done and keeping all the money. Why did these foreigners open shops and sell their goods so dear, com-

pelling the native Monegasque to go all the way to Nice for anything he might want? It was not because the casino made so much money that greedy foreign shopkeepers were to extort exorbitant profits from the native Monegasques. There was also the more sordid idea that good things were going and they had no share in them. The country was overrun by foreigners, the natives had little or nothing to fall back upon, the dynasty was not stable, the casino might be closed at any moment—then what would become of the Monegasques?

If, on the other hand, no such catastrophes occurred, foreign financiers, for the benefit of foreign shareholders, would carry out vast schemes in the principality. For instance, it is proposed to reclaim from the sea land on which a boulevard would be built from the Monte Carlo station round the bay to the eastern frontier of the principality. Thus fresh land, created by foreigners for the benefit of foreigners, would compete with and reduce the value of such land as the Monegasques might still possess in the Moulin district and up the sides of the mountains. Already the Condamine was suffering because the new town of Beausoleil had sprung into existence just outside the principality. All these things came to pass, the Monegasques were buffeted here and there by the rapid development of economic forces and they were not able to say a word or to influence in any way their own destinies. So they cried aloud for a Constitution and put revolvers in their pockets.

It was in October 1910 that the agitation came to a head. When the hostile demonstration was made, serious trouble was feared. A story is even told of mysterious cases of wine brought to a celebrated hotel at Monte Carlo. At the same time a large number of sailors belonging to a British man-of-war anchored at Villefranche were unexpectedly given a holiday. But there were conditions attached to that holiday. It was to be spent in the principality and the sailors were to watch the flagstaff of the hotel, which had laid in a new stock of wine.

Should a certain flag be hoisted, they were to hasten to the hotel as fast as possible. On their arrival the heavy wine-cases would be opened, rifles and ammunition extracted from them and the sailors sent out to restore order, or, in any case, to protect British property. Several persons occupying high positions, who ought to know, have assured me that this story is correct. In any case, and of this there can be no doubt, French troops were held ready both at Villefranche and Menton to proceed at a moment's notice to Monaco. Any disturbance, especially any attack on property, would lead to foreign intervention; then, as Frenchmen are the principal proprietors in Monaco, the question of annexation might arise. But the casino has rights that the French Government could no more recognise than the German Empire could recognise the rights of the casinos at Homburg, Wiesbaden and Baden-Baden. The future is not clear.

Fortunately no serious disturbance occurred, and the prince promised to grant some sort of constitution so that the Monegasques should have a voice in the government and administration of their country. But a most disconcerting discovery was now made. The concession came too late, for the Monegasques are already almost obliterated by the foreign invasion. One unforeseen result is that most of the Monegasque women have married foreigners, and therefore their children are not Monegasques. In 1861 the population of the principality numbered 1200, nearly all of whom were native Monegasques. The census of 1908 sets down the fixed population at 19,121, comprising only 1482 Monegasques by birth or by naturalisation. Of these latter not more than 635 were real Monegasques, and thus, in about fifty years, the native population has decreased by about 50 per cent. Then when it came to reckoning who among them could claim the right to vote it was found that though the electorate would amount to 448 voters, the electors were nearly all naturalised Italians, there being

only 95 genuine, native-born Monegasques entitled to the franchise.

What applies to the vote also applies to the ownership of the 380 acres that make up the principality. It was at that time estimated that 126 of these acres were covered with 1300 houses valued at £7,080,000. The land not yet built upon was considered to be worth £2,000,000. This total real estate of £9,080,000, in which the prince's estate is not included, is owned by 1300 different persons. Of these landowners 620 are French, 265 Italians, and 115 belong to other nationalities, and the value of the land possessed by these 1000 foreigners amounts to £7,880,000. The rest of the land, which is worth only £1,200,000, is shared by 300 Monegasques. With regard to personal property, such as shares in the various enterprises mentioned above, the situation is the same. On the 1st of January 1909 the total value of shares and debentures was set down at £15,880,000, but of all this property the Monegasques themselves only possessed stock to the value of £400,000. No invasion could be more complete, except in one spot, Monaco town. Here one foreigner only, an English lady, bought a beautiful villa before the decree went forth that no part of the old historical town of Monaco should be sold to strangers. How independent and how immensely wealthy the principality would be to-day if the same law had been applied throughout, and all the foreign fortune-seekers compelled to content themselves with being the tenants of a Monegasque Commonwealth!

Now at this late hour, when the mischief has been done, when the Monegasques are well-nigh crushed out of existence, when their beautiful country has been disfigured by incongruous, ugly commercial speculations, they have risen in their death-agony to claim a constitution. The prince was too much of a Grimaldi—that is to say, of a Monegasque—to refuse. Too late, perhaps, to be of much use, a trial will be made, and Monegasques have now a voice in the affairs of their country. But

a voice in the face of economic forces recalls Canute bidding the tide to stop.

The Constitution bears date 5th January 1911. It consists of seven Chapters and fifty-eight Articles. The supreme sovereignty of the prince is maintained, but there is now a national or public domain, distinct from the prince's private domain though drawn from the latter. The expenditure, as already explained, is divided into the Consolidated Services and the Interior Services, the latter being submitted to the criticism of the popular representatives. Individual liberty, freedom of speech, meeting, association, the right of petitions, freedom of religion and the freedom *not* to observe religious fête days, is granted to all Monegasque citizens.

The function of Governor of the Principality is abolished, being replaced by that of Minister of State: this minister represents the prince in all circumstances, and presides over the various assemblies or councils. The prince appoints three functionaries, who might be called Cabinet Ministers: one for the Home Office, another for the Treasury, and a third for the Public Works Department. These three, with the Minister of State, the First President of the Court of Appeal and the Procurator-General, constitute the Council of State. This body frames laws and ordinances and prepares the annual Budget, all of which are submitted to the prince.

Universal suffrage is granted, and all Monegasques may vote for the election of a National Council, consisting of twenty-one members appointed for four years. The council is to meet twice a year, and oftener if necessary. It can be dissolved by the prince on the advice of the Council of State, but new elections must be held within three months. Though the initiation of laws belongs to the prince the council can demand that the prince shall propose a law they desire to see promulgated. In the event of the necessity arising for the imposition of direct taxation this could not be done without a vote of the National Council. Thus it comes about that some

Monegasques are agitating in favour of taxation. On the principle that "he who pays calls the tune," they argue that they will have no real power till they pay for it. Yet though they do not pay, the National Council is permitted to discuss and criticise the expenditure on public works, fine arts, schools, the hospital, health and charity departments. Apart from the National Council, three municipalities are created for the three communes—Monaco, the Condamine and Monte Carlo.

The National Council has now met several times, and of course it complains that its powers are not sufficiently extensive. The trouble is that the population, as a whole, has never been taught the duties of citizenship, the sense of public responsibility has not been inculcated during childhood; and the chief object-lesson received is that the casino has made an immense amount of money, therefore the Monegasques think they also should be able to make much money—it is a demoralising influence. Then there is the further complication that the vast majority of the population, though foreigners, have to be considered.

At first, when the Monegasques desired to have a voice in the government of their own country, the population of the principality, though in the main foreign, looked on benevolently. But now the situation has changed. The handful of Monegasques want to have a Budget; they want to impose direct taxes on the vast majority of residents who are not Monegasques. These latter see no advantage to be gained by paying the taxes from which they have always been exempt. Why should they pay merely to allow a very small minority of fellow-inhabitants to enjoy the power and prestige of manipulating a Budget? Why should a rich majority create a Budget for the advantage of a poor minority? The Monegasques constitute but one-twelfth of the population, and of course the eleven-twelfths of the inhabitants do not see matters in the same light. The complication is due to the difference of nationalities. A council dealing purely with municipal affairs might be elected by every

resident, whatever his nationality, like the Sanitary Board at Tangiers. Each voter at Tangiers, however, contributes towards the expenses incurred by the Board he elects. But why have such an international Board or Municipal Council at Monaco when there is no need of making any payments? If it should ever be necessary to impose taxes then it will be time enough to speak of electing a municipality to represent not one-twelfth but the whole of the population.

In the meanwhile, so long as the prince and the casino do all that is necessary, the foreigner, who comes to the principality to make money rather than to attend to politics, is quite satisfied with his irresponsible position. He enjoys living in a country where there is no political squabbling: he has enough of politics at home. On the other hand, it is quite easy to understand that the native Monegasque, who is at home, should feel humiliated to think he had no voice whatsoever in the concerns of his own native country. So efforts are being made to satisfy the Monegasque without imperilling the foreigner: not an altogether easy task.

CHAPTER XVII

THE POLICE

A NEW treaty now allows the Monegasque police to pursue and arrest fugitives over the frontier line on condition that they are immediately given over to the French police. Quite recently a criminal might escape by running perhaps only a few hundred yards. This might carry him over the border and into France. Here he could enjoy breathing-time, safe in the knowledge that formalities must be gone through before the French police took up the matter and continued the pursuit the Monegasque police had begun. This is one of the reasons why, apart from the desire to avoid scandals and disturbances, the Monegasque police preferred prevention to punishment. It is quite natural that Monte Carlo should attract all sorts of criminals, more especially those of the pick-pocket persuasion. The play is for cash. Cheques and bills are of course not accepted, nor are counters used. The players must have ready money, which they generally put in their pockets, so that it is easily accessible to the pick-pocket as well as to themselves. Very large amounts are thus loosely carried. If during the season a census could be taken of the ready cash and bank-notes carried by those present, the amount per head or the average per cent. would be greater than could be found in any other spot in the world. In bonds, shares, cheques, bills, etc., larger sums are brought to a stock exchange or leading market, but the thief cannot easily dispose of these securities. He likes bank-notes, or, better still, gold, and these abound at Monte Carlo; they fall in glittering cascades upon the tables.

Many thousand persons enter the gaming-rooms in the course of a single day. A large proportion have their pockets well filled, at least on arrival. Besides, if the enterprising pickpocket is afflicted with doubts and blessed with patience, he has only to watch till he spots the rare player who is satisfied to leave the tables while still the winner of a good round sum. It is true that, when the pickpocket is watching the players, the police are watching the pickpocket; but, like the game which attracts thief and thief-catcher, with uncertain results. There is a good tale told of a detective set to watch a notorious pickpocket who had gained admission to the gaming-saloons. The detective kept so close to the thief that he never discovered anything; but this proximity provided the thief with an excellent opportunity of safely stealing the detective's scarf-pin! There is one thing, however, to be said in favour of the criminal class frequenting Monte Carlo: they are quite worthy of the other classes which make a point of visiting this fashionable resort. We have no vulgar "area sneaks" here. The milk-can may hang outside the door of house or flat and no one will condescend to steal the milk. Petty larceny is well and good for London suburbs and other commonplace abodes. On the contrary, the Monte Carlo thief is difficult to catch because he is such a refined and high-class personality that the police hardly dare venture to arrest him, however politely.

The headquarters of the police at Monaco occupies part of the Government House. It is not called the Prefecture of Police, but bears the title of Public Safety—*Sureté Publique*—and its chief is M. Joseph Henri Simard, *Directeur de la Sureté*. Now M. Simard is the proud owner of Max, the wolf-like dog of Gronendael breed, which has been carefully trained as a police dog. At the brilliant international Dog Competition held in the Condamine during the spring of 1911, I had seen this dog win prizes by reason of its irresistible ardour in devouring the padding protecting the limbs of a very honest individual

dressed to personate a villainous *apache*. In 1912 he was again equally successful. On the occasion of my first visit to M. Simard, he happened to enter the Government Offices a few yards in front of me, and I watched with pleasure the joyful bounds of his beautiful dog as it played about while following its master. When I entered M. Simard's private office, Max sprang to its feet and, with dignified deliberation, strode up till its nose was within an inch of my leg. A studious sniff followed; then, standing still but watchful, without any fuss, show of teeth or barking, it gave just one low but emphatic growl. There was no mistaking the dog's meaning, and I felt myself as much a prisoner as if handcuffs and manacles had been affixed to my limbs. Fortunately a friendly word from its master sufficed; the dog wagged its tail and returned to its usual post of observation under the office-desk at M. Simard's feet.

Having explained the object of my business, I was referred to M. Théotime Farine, whose special business it is to watch over the people who visit the principality. As a detective of no ordinary talent he must have rendered eminent service to the Russian Imperial family, for he has received both orders and decorations from Russia. With M. Farine, I was soon plunged in an interesting conversation. The police of Monaco, he explained, pride themselves on their elaborate organisation and practice of preventive measures. Their great object is to be so thoroughly acquainted with all swindlers, sharpers, pickpockets and similar gentry as to render their lives unendurable from the moment they enter the principality. The detectives so dog their footsteps that in alarm they depart without attempting to steal anything. On such occasions the police will spend the whole night watching in the hotel where the suspected person has taken a room, and thus the thief is sometimes caught in the act. There are police agents who have been living in the principality for so many years that they have become familiar with the faces of nearly all the regular frequenters. This is most useful, as it

prevents a great deal of weary and futile watching. Still, much depends upon hazard, for there is a constant flow of new-comers whose features cannot be known and who are probably very honourable people.

Detection is rendered more difficult because it is the aristocracy of the criminal classes who frequent Monte Carlo. The visitor of good birth and breeding need have no apprehension. His refined senses will not be offended in any way. He will be robbed with the utmost courtesy, and by some very elegant, well-conducted and wealthy person. Indeed, one of the best chances of catching a thief is the probability that he will overplay his part. His luggage will be just a little too good and expensive, or he will wear rather too much jewellery. Of course these ingenious adventurers go to winter quarters in the most expensive style and by the dearest route. Only very rich people can afford to rival the Riviera sharper and thief in his mode of travelling. Thus may we rest in peace. There is in such facts a merciful dispensation. Only those who can afford the loss are likely to be robbed.

Of late years it has been the fashion among this class of criminals to adopt American manners, perhaps because some of the boldest and most skilful thieves actually came from the States, following those of their countrymen who had "struck oil." Early in 1911 the police arrested an American who frequented very good society and had put up at one of the best hotels at Nice. On opening his luggage there were found a complete and most scientific burglar's kit, two trick roulettes and packs of marked cards. Not only are these light-fingered gentlemen perfectly dressed, they are also very courteous. Some of them are well read, and ingratiate themselves both by their obliging manners and their entertaining conversation. However, this is not a sufficient reason to justify the haughty, insulting indifference English travellers are apt to display towards the stranger who attempts to be polite and agreeable. Politeness is a virtue, honesty is a virtue; and though we may suspect the absence of the

latter that is not reason enough for exiling the former. It will be time to turn a cold shoulder on a fellow-traveller when he suggests a game of cards or any other course involving a money issue.

When these fashionable thieves reach their hotel, and it is generally one of the very best and most expensive in the place, the difficulty of recognising and convicting them only increases. Just as they wear elegant clothes, have the best trunks and the most valuable jewellery, so also are they provided with a plentiful supply of money. Their first care is to interview the proprietor or manager of the hotel and ask him to keep their money in his safe. As this is a usual custom, assent is readily given, and the new arrival hands over such a large sum as entirely to disarm all suspicion. M. Farine assured me that he had known professional thieves deposit in the hotel safe as much as £1000. There was one case of a pickpocket who gave his hotelkeeper 160,000 francs, or £2400. When the police come to inform the hotel manager that there is a thief among his guests, the warning is naturally greeted with expressions of surprise and incredulity. Yet if this warning were not given the manager of the hotel, by answering favourably questions asked concerning his lodger, might help the rogue to effect his purpose. When a chance acquaintance is made in travelling or at an hotel one of the few methods available of obtaining some information about the stranger is to inquire if he is known at the hotel. The manager may then reply that though he does not know much about his guest, still as he is a very well-conducted person and has deposited a large sum in the hotel safe there is no reason to doubt his respectability. On the other hand, if the hotel manager has been put on his guard by the police, he will be careful not to say anything that might be construed as a recommendation which would help the thief to impose on his victims.

Some of these hotel "rats," to use the graphic French term, have all sorts of pincers with which they can turn a

key that is on the other side of the door. They can then enter and help themselves. If the occupant is asleep they will increase the profundity of his slumbers by the aid of chloroform. On leaving, the thief with his admirable tools locks the door again. Next morning the victim awakes and finds his door locked from the inside just as he had locked it himself before going to bed. Evidently no one has come in by the door, nor indeed in any other way. There have been no burglars this time, for everything is in exactly the same position as on the previous evening, and there were several objects lying about—a gold watch perhaps—which would be worth stealing but which have not been touched. It is perhaps much later in the day that the pocket-book charged with bank-notes is missed. What has happened? One thing seems quiet clear: no robbery was committed in the hotel. The door was locked in the evening and it was still locked in the morning. There is not a scratch or a mark anywhere to reveal the entrance of a thief, and there were so many other things that might have been stolen but were not tampered with. The book with the notes, it is more natural to suppose, was lost, dropped or snatched out of the pocket when its owner was away on some excursion or had reluctantly consented to participate in the gathering of a rather mixed but jovial company, where, however, he had enjoyed himself mightily. Then pockets are so easily picked in the crowd round the gambling-tables. At the hotel obviously nothing was lost or stolen, and the one person the police suspect has given the most absolute proof that he is a man of means.

That is why the police set detectives to watch at night in the hotels, even at the risk of terrifying some inmate whose suspicions will be awakened by seeing a stranger loitering in the passages. Thus the detective runs every risk of being mistaken for a desperate burglar, and may consider himself fortunate if some amateur defender of law and order does not take a shot at him with a revolver. Desperate crimes attended with bloodshed are, however,

very rare in the principality. In 1907 there was the celebrated Gould affair, when a lady was murdered and cut into pieces by her friends and an attempt made to get rid of the body by putting it in a box.

The next notorious theft with violence took place at five o'clock in the afternoon on the 28th of December 1911. By eight o'clock that same evening the three men concerned were arrested. They had entered the apartment of a beautiful Italian actress named Signorina Liona, sprung on her servant, treated her with some violence and left her securely bound and fainting on the floor. The men made off with some money and a large quantity of very valuable jewellery. Part of this, and the jewel-box, were buried in the sand on the Larvotto beach. The servant, restored to her senses, was able to give so clear a description of the three men that two of them were arrested in the principality shortly after they had perpetrated the crime. The third managed to get as far as Vintimille. Here, however, he had to wait some time for a train, and strolled about in the streets. A Monegasque detective, who was watching, and who had received by telegraph a full description of the crime and the criminals, thought he recognised the man. He at once asked the Italian police to interrogate the stranger, who was accordingly invited to step into the police office. Here he gave such satisfactory answers that he was about to be released when the Monegasque detective noticed that he had never taken off his cap. Attention having been drawn to this, the stranger was told to remove his cap; on his doing so some jewels fell on to the floor. He was at once arrested, but his trial did not take place till the 22nd of May 1912, at Oneglia, in Italy. In the meanwhile his brother, who had participated in the crime and was imprisoned at Monaco, committed suicide in his cell, on the 1st of January 1912. Perhaps it was on this account that a plea of insanity or irresponsibility was set up. At any rate, the Italian court acquitted their prisoner. The important and notable feature of the affair

is the rapidity with which the culprits were arrested. The whole of the jewels also were recovered; not a single thing was lost.

Crimes with violence are extremely rare in the principality. There may be quarrels accompanied with violence among Italians, but these are honest if hot-tempered individuals. The police place the greatest faith in ostentatious shadowing. As already stated, when a criminal finds he is watched at every turn he generally goes away. It is easier to prevent a crime than to capture the criminal after it has been perpetrated. But the police have no light task. An enormous number of people come into the principality. Many of them—the majority of them—are not strangers but neighbours, coming from the outskirts, from Nice, Menton and other places. They will return home the same evening, and may be back again in the principality the next day. Nevertheless, however numerous the cases of duplicating may be the fact remains that, coming by train, tramway or other means of locomotion, the persons entering the principality during the year 1911 numbered 1,587,130. How is such a crowd to be adequately watched?

According to an official report giving a summary of legal proceedings during the ten years from 1898 to 1907, there were 4 convictions for murder during this period, and altogether 34 convictions for serious crimes entailing heavy penalties. There took place 11,229 prosecutions, most of them for insignificant minor offences, such as letting off a squib in the streets, blocking the thoroughfare, singing at night, dropping something out of a window and infringing various administrative regulations. It is interesting to note that of all these prosecutions 8459 were directed against Italians, 1885 against French, 566 against Monegasques, 185 against Germans, 51 against Swiss, and only 31 against British subjects, though they are numerous in the principality. The Russians came in for 23 prosecutions, and other nationalities not mentioned for 29. There is not the slightest doubt, and the figures

Out of Doors Treatment : the Café de Paris in Midwinter

quoted testify to the fact, that the greatest personal security is enjoyed by residents in the principality. This indeed is one of its attractions, and many people endeavour to make a home on this beautiful spot because they feel so safe and well guarded.

CHAPTER XVIII

MONACO, MEDICAL AND SANITARY

THE greatest, the most legitimate claim to preference Monaco can make is its climate. The whole of the Riviera from San Remo to Cannes, and again, but farther on, Hyères, adduce identically the same reason as their justification in taking the title of winter stations. The Maritime Alps or offshoots from this great mountain-range protect all these places from the cold northerly winds, though here and there, maybe, a gap cut by a river lets some cold wind through and makes things uncomfortable. There is no such river in the principality. Direct to the north, and quite close at hand, Mount Agel rises to a height of 3770 feet. An offshoot of this mountain to the north-east passes above the romantic village of Roquebrune to advance some distance out to sea and form the Cap Martin. On the other side of Mount Agel, toward the west, there are lower mountains, but no interruption in the succession of protecting hills. First comes the battle mountain, *La Turbie*, with its Augustan trophy built at an altitude of 2620 feet, and then the *Tête de Chien*, 1880 feet, terminates the amphitheatre which, without any break, shelters the principality from the cold northern winds. The mistral, it is true, blows in spite of all this shelter, but by the time it has leapt over the lofty peaks and has been deflected down on the other side it has lost much of its rude violence. It comes to carry away the dust, to oxidise and purify its particles by blowing them about in the blazing sunshine, and to announce that rain and uncertain weather are over. The mistral is not an enemy ; it is rather a brusque, boisterous friend which,

Midwinter Sun Bath on the Casino Terrace

like a spring cleaning, creates alarming discomfort while rendering genuine service.

The more perfect the shelter, the more likely is the atmosphere to become oppressive, like the air in a hot-house; but, with the exception of the Condamine district and the *Bas-Moulin*, the principality escapes from this inconvenience. The houses are not built on a beach at the seashore. They are built on the sides of mountains. The building land available rises to a height of 500 feet, and there are comparatively few houses at a lower level than 200 feet above the sea. This ensures a constant if slight circulation of air, which prevents the feeling of depression and acts as a gentle stimulant. As the subsoil consists mainly of rock, and is situated on the mountain-side, the gradient towards the sea is very steep; we thus obtain very efficient natural drainage. There are no accumulations of stagnant water or of mud. After the severest rainfall the roads are dry again in a few hours. Thus the principality is remarkably free from mist and damp. The air is always exceptionally dry; and excess of cold or heat is much more endurable if the air is not moist.

The purity of the air is assured by the immense uninhabited space occupied by the mountains on the one side and the wide expanse of sea on the other side. These constitute two inexhaustible sources of germ-free atmosphere. The strip of land running between the mountains and the sea, which man befouls, is so narrow that the impurities engendered are promptly dispersed by the constant admixture of pure air blown in upon it from one or the other side. Then the enormous volume of water that bathes the whole length of the narrow principality throws off in winter some of the heat it has stored in summer; while, in the hot weather, on the contrary, it helps to keep the temperature cool. Thus there is a summer as well as a winter season, when visitors come from Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Brazil and other hot places to enjoy the comparative coolness of the principality. But we have the reverse to every medal. The more

attractive the place the greater the number of visitors. With the increase of popularity comes the danger of overcrowding. Already some houses have been built in defiance of the most elementary laws of health. The back of the lower part of these very lofty dwellings is so close against the mountain-side that there are some rooms which can never be reached by nature's disinfectors —the direct rays of light and sunshine. Human beings should not be allowed to sleep in such rooms, however elegantly they may be furnished. The attempt to house too many people on one spot and other sanitary defects all arise from the same cause, too much success.

On the other hand, homage must be rendered to the principality for its activity and readiness to apply sanitary measures and reforms. In this it has often given a precious example to the entire Riviera. Before the necessity of drainage was appreciated in this part of the world attempts were already made to construct sewers in Monaco. Here the narrowness of the streets and their rocky foundations made this work of cutting down into the solid stone, which was begun in 1885, very difficult and expensive. At that time, of the 68,000 houses which Paris then possessed, only 1100 were drained direct into sewers, and might, in that respect, be considered in a satisfactory condition. By 1894 the principality adopted the English water-carriage system of draining everything into the sewers. The abolition of cesspools and other such abominations was therefore decreed and enforced. In the course of a few years, some fifteen miles of sewers were built. For the low-lying districts (to prevent draining into the port) Shone ejectors were installed, being placed in the Condamine to raise the sewage to a higher level so that it could reach the main outfall at Fontvieille. This English method has been working automatically in the Condamine all day and all night for now fourteen years without ever getting out of order. A technical commission, recently appointed to investigate the condition of the drainage, gives high praise to the wonderful

manner in which this system has stood the test of years.

The report of the commission on the state of the sewers is a very disconcerting document. In a word, the principality has altogether outgrown its system of drainage. The sewers are now too small, they overflow or burst and there is no efficient ventilation. Without entering into details of an unsavoury description, it may be said that everyone knowing anything about the subject readily admits that a new scheme must be devised to meet the altered state of affairs due to the great increase of population. This, there is no doubt, will be taken in hand at an early date ; and, in the meanwhile, it cannot be said that the principality is properly drained. Such is the consequence of too much or too rapid success. A few years ago Monaco had the reputation of being the best-drained place on the Riviera. But if what is invisible within the sewers is now in an unsatisfactory condition, the surface cleaning or scavenging is perfect. Nowhere in the world would it be possible to find cleaner, better swept and watered streets, paths and public gardens. The principality first on the Riviera employed a destructor so that all the rubbish and household refuse should be consumed by fire as soon as collected. The Horsfall system of Leeds was installed at Fontvieille, and here 56 cubic metres of refuse can be reduced to ashes in a day. (A cubic metre is rather more than 35 cubic feet.) The heat engendered exceeding 900° centigrade, it is utilised to cremate carcasses, condemned meat and other obnoxious organic matter. Little or no smoke or smell results, and the principality is promptly freed from rubbish which if allowed to accumulate soon becomes dangerous.

The disinfector is not, as is often the case, near the destructor, but just outside the hospital. In respect to the disinfection of clothes, bedding, etc., the principality is ahead not only of its neighbouring winter stations but of great countries, particularly of England. There are two things we do not yet possess in England: first, com-

pulsory notification of pulmonary tuberculosis, which is still optional; second, compulsory insurance against disinfection. If a hotel or lodging-house keeper has to pay for the disinfection of a room occupied by a tenant notified as suffering from an infectious or a tuberculous disease, he may occasionally save his money by not fulfilling this duty. In the principality the authorities are not satisfied to incur this risk. For all the poorer inhabitants they disinfect gratuitously; on the hotel and lodging-house keepers compulsory insurance is imposed. Whether they have cases of infectious diseases or not, they all pay a fixed sum per annum, and the premises are disinfected whenever necessary without any further charge. Nor can this be considered a burden, for the sum levied only amounts to one franc per annum per bed. Thus there is no money to be saved by not obeying the law. It would be a great advantage to the public at large if some similar system were applied in all countries. A special cart takes away the bedding, curtains, carpets, clothes, etc. The room itself is disinfected with formol; and there is a specially trained staff of disinfectors.

Again, and in this the principality should be more widely imitated in England, and certainly in the United States of America, the Sanitary Authorities do not entrust their meat-supply to the tender mercies of private butchers. No private slaughter-houses are sanctioned. A municipal abattoir has been constructed, well away from any dwellings or general traffic. It is situated under the Oceanographic Museum on a narrow ledge of rock just over the sea and at the far extremity and below the town of Monaco. Purified by the sea-winds, and placed in this isolated spot the abattoir can inconvenience no one. Here veterinary surgeons, paid by the Government and having no interest in the trade, are ever on the watch to see that the animals are healthy and the meat wholesome, and that there is no cruelty. Indeed, throughout the principality the prevention of cruelty is strictly enforced, except with regard to pigeon-shooting.

THE EXTREMITY OF THE MONACO ROCK

There are also very severe laws concerning the constant inspection, entailing the right of entry, of private stables, so that unhealthy and unhappy conditions for animals are not allowed. Needless to say the control of food, and especially of milk, is becoming more and more rigorous. Those dealers who bring in milk from outside the principality must also bring twice a year a certificate from a veterinary surgeon showing that their cows are in good health. This surveillance gives rise to many prosecutions and condemnations; sentences of imprisonment as well as fines are unhesitatingly inflicted. Any false statement on a label is also severely punished.

The water-supply is in a state of transition. A large portion of the drinking water comes from the same supply as that drunk at Nice. This is the water of the Vésubie, and of late it has been sterilised by the introduction of ozone. But a local water-supply is collected in the principality. No fault has been found with it, though in these days the fact that water is pure when examined is not considered a sufficient guarantee. There is no knowing when or how it may get contaminated. Therefore before delivering this water to the consumer it is now proposed to ensure its purity by submitting it to the action of the ultra-violet rays.

Another admirable institution which exists in Paris, Bordeaux and several French towns, as well as in the principality, is the Casier Sanitaire. The Sanitary Authority has for every house a *casier*, or small case or portfolio. In this is placed a plan of the house, giving its sanitary services, a description of the number of rooms, cubic space and other details, such as the nature of the water-supply, or of the trades, if any, carried on inside. In time there accumulates in the *casier* the sanitary history of the house. When anything happens a sheet of paper is dropped into the *casier*, and the paper by its colour tells what has occurred. Particulars of deaths, diseases notified, disinfection carried out, with dates and details, are all to be found in the portfolio. Placed in dictionary order, the

sanitary history of any one house can be ascertained in a moment, and the sanitary authorities are thus precisely informed before they take action. These sanitary house passports, as they are sometimes called, are most practical and useful, and when once in working order save much time, trouble, and not a few errors. What, however, is still needed is a better and more scientific method of house inspection. The condition of the air inside the sewers has never been analysed, and there are no efficient means of testing whether the house drains are airtight. In a word, the population has not yet been educated to the point of understanding how great is the danger of allowing air from the sewers and drains to enter dwellings. Mere outside cleanliness does not suffice: sometimes it is dangerously deceptive. One very good thing has been done during the year 1912. The water cistern of nearly every house in the principality has been inspected. Regular inspection is the next best thing to total abolition. Of course the water should come direct from the main and not be stored in a cistern for mice and birds to fall in, get drowned, and, decomposing with other organic matter, pollute what would otherwise be a pure water-supply. Some houses in the principality have done away with this dangerous contrivance and do get their water direct from the main.

One of the most notable sanitary features of the principality is its Model Hospital. It was inaugurated in 1902 by the prince, who was then accompanied by the Conference of the International Association of the Medical Press. This is a body of severe and expert critics, but no fault was found and much praise was bestowed. It was described in *The Lancet* at the time; and in May 1911 the result in the treatment of patients was analysed. From this it appears that during the first year 78 operations of major and 20 of minor surgery were performed; 2 deaths resulted, 1 only being the consequence of the operation. By 1909 the reputation of the hospital had so spread that there were 204 major and 44 minor surgical

operations performed, resulting in only 6 deaths. During the first seven years there were 868 major and 200 minor operations. Of these 1068 patients operated upon, 23 died in consequence of the operation they had undergone, and 30 died from some other cause. Thus the average total mortality, calculated on seven years' experience, resulting directly from operations, did not amount to more than 2·1 per cent. Taking more recent figures given since the publication of *The Lancet's* article, the hospital staff in 1911 performed 267 operations, and there were only 3 deaths resulting from the operations and 11 deaths from other causes; so that 253 patients were cured. This means an operation mortality of 1·1 per cent. and a general mortality, including the direct effect of operations, equal to 5 per cent. If these more recent figures be added to those collected since the opening of the hospital we have, as the average of nine years, a general mortality of 5 per cent. among patients operated upon, and a specific mortality due to the failure of the operations of 1·8 per cent.

It is only necessary to compare these figures with the statistics published by other hospitals in other parts of the world to realise the enormous advantage enjoyed by those patients who have the good fortune to be operated upon in the Monaco Hospital. *The Lancet* says: "These favourable results are due, not merely to the undoubted surgical skill displayed, but, according to Dr Cailland's [the principal operator] own testimony, to the great safety in anæsthesia resulting from the use of the Roth-Droeger-Guglielminetti apparatus, to the admirable topographical position of the hospital, and to the lavish care bestowed on the patients. Indeed the topographical position of the hospital constitutes in itself a treatment that has proved effective even in some advanced cases."

On the side of the mountain under the *Tête de Chien* a ledge has been cut into the rock measuring 2800 metres square. Here, in the midst of trees and flowers, at a height of 260 feet above the sea, a series of pavilions has been

built, all facing due south. Cases of tuberculous peritonitis, tubercular affection of the limbs and arthritis are simply wheeled out and left in the open to be cured by breathing the saline air and by the penetrating, purifying action of the direct rays of sunshine. A wing called the Pavilion Koch has been built expressly for the sunshine treatment of children suffering from tubercle of the bones. It is the wholesomeness of the situation that aids the healing of surgical cases while acting in a specific manner on diseases such as these just mentioned. The land and the building, without including any furniture, surgical instruments or fittings, cost £80,000, which, as usual, came out of the prince's private purse, and he particularly insisted upon having the best hospital possible without any regard to economy.

Nor is the hospital intended exclusively for the poor. There are wards where persons of small means can be treated for three shillings and fourpence or four shillings per day, and a pavilion has been built and furnished in a luxurious style for wealthy patients, called the Villa Albert. It has its own operating-room, and there is an English trained nurse. This is a great comfort to British or American visitors who cannot speak French and fall ill while in the principality. Especially when an operation is necessary, nothing can be more trying than to be invalided in an hotel. But at the Villa Albert, for from eight shillings to sixteen shillings a day, according to the room selected, the patient can have every comfort as if in a high-class hotel, the technical nursing needed, and the attendance of any physician he chooses to consult. This is indeed a boon, for hotel servants cannot be expected to give proper attention to patients. The position is even more terrible if the visitor contracts an infectious disease. He then becomes not merely a nuisance but a danger to all in the hotel or lodging-house where he is residing. As a rule, in such cases, he is taken off by force to the common hospital. Now, and higher up the mountain than the new hospital, a luxurious fever or isolation hospital has

The Villa Albert for Paying Patients at the Monaco Hospital

been built. It contains paying wards and private rooms, and all the modern contrivances, such as glass compartments for the isolation of children from each other, though all are under the watch of the one nurse in the same ward.

Consequently the visitor need no longer view with apprehension the possibility of falling ill when away from home if he is going to Monaco. Whether suffering from infectious or other disease, medical or surgical, he can have every care, every luxury, and an altogether exceptional chance of recovery at the Model Hospital, which has been built according to the most modern principles and regardless of expense. This is one of the institutions Monaco has the most reason to be proud of, and visitors should not leave the principality without paying the hospital a visit so as to see for themselves the great and humanitarian work that has been accomplished.

END OF PART I

PART II

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF ROULETTE

OBVIOUSLY the fundamental principle of roulette must have come into existence when humanity had so far progressed as to make wheels and organise games of chance. The early Britons may have turned one of their war chariots over on its side, painted the upper wheel in different colours and sent it whirling round. A spear stuck in the ground so that the point might be near the edge of the wheel would answer very well as a winning-post. To-day in Greenland a board serves as a pivot. The players sit round and a revolving finger-piece in stopping points out the winner. So the early Briton who backed the colour which stopped opposite the point of the spear would win the game. Whether, in the absence of a casino police, the losers would allow him to carry off the prize is another matter. In my juvenile days, playing with other children in the gardens of the Champs Élysées, I was early initiated in the mysteries of the roulette brought round by the *marchandes de plaisirs*. The dear old ladies who thus announced themselves as merchants of pleasure carried—and still carry, for they have survived the change of many a government and dynasty—tin cylinders about three feet deep and one foot wide. The "pleasures" are kept cool, dry and crisp inside, for what would be a pleasure that was not crisp? It would be like a cracknel that did not crackle. How sweet they were, how delicately flavoured, how thin and light! It was all pleasure and no food. There was nothing in them to spoil our appetites. We could consume scores without the risk of a scolding

for being unable to eat our dinners properly. Yet they were quite large; larger, though hardly thicker, than a sheet of notepaper, and folded gracefully like the petal of a giant flower. But before the lid of the cylinder containing a vast store of these pleasures was removed, a halfpenny had to be paid, and then the gambling began.

Since there was no wheel to turn, the instrument was not exactly a roulette. Spikes like pegs standing upright divided the circumference of the lid into equal compartments, each bearing a number. From the centre we sent a hand whirling round. It was more like the game the Greenlanders play, but it was a happy game, because we always won. It would not do to mar the cheerfulness of the Champs Elysées with sounds of lamentation from the children who had lost. But we often won only one *plaisir*, less frequently two or more, and it was the uncertainty as to the result which caused all the excitement. Then there was just one out of the many compartments that represented the *gros lot*. This meant a pile of pleasures, something altogether beyond the combined dreams of avarice and greed. When someone did win this big prize, there was an outburst of delirious joy in that happy childland that can only be compared to the demonstrations which used to take place in the good old days when players were allowed to break the bank at Monte Carlo.

Perhaps all this was very wicked. Certainly I soon became a gambler of the worst type, plunging recklessly so long as my nurse or fond parents provided the halfpence. Was it very wrong of them to sympathise with me when I failed to pull off a big number? Were they by their loving indulgence sowing tares that would grow up and choke the good harvest? If so, how many other games and joys of childhood must be nipped in the bud! Indeed, very serious essays have been published denouncing Christmas tree festivities. The children sit round, excited by long anticipation and the many lights glittering on the tree; from the branches hang numerous presents, and in its little hand each child clutches the

ticket bearing the number that determines which of all these presents it shall receive. Afterwards what envy, malice and hatred are engendered in the mind of the children who have not been fortunate and would prefer what some other child has got. Evidently if the roulette at Monte Carlo, like its predecessors at Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden and Homburg, is to be suppressed, then the strong arm of the law must also cut down the Christmas tree. If people gamble at Monte Carlo it is entirely of their own free will; but before the Christmas tree the child is absolutely helpless.

The excitement of a lottery, the joy of winning at what is to all intents and purposes a game of hazard, are forced upon the child by its parents. It would be preposterous to expect that children should resist and refuse on moral grounds to attend Christmas festivities. Yet the mind of a child is more impressionable than that of an adult. At Monte Carlo juveniles are rigorously excluded, and adults must procure a special permission before they can enter the gaming-rooms. Again, at charity and other bazaars, and at country fairs, how many wheels are there for holiday folks to send spinning round in the hope of winning a large piece of gingerbread, a china dog, or, it may be, a real live rabbit? From childhood upwards, in a thousand different ways, games of hazard have been enjoyed, and are but rarely prevented. The sermons and denunciations of moralists, the laws and police have proved equally ineffectual. The love of getting something for nothing still prevails. It is always possible to bet in one way or another, to speculate on 'Change or to invest in risky enterprises that will yield large profits in the unlikely event of their proving successful.

The hope of quickly and easily winning by a happy chance what requires so much trouble to earn has always acted as a strong temptation, leading too frequently to disastrous results. In face of this melancholy fact the obvious but very commonplace attitude to observe is one of virtuous indignation. Convention bids us vigorously

denounce gambling as a terrible vice which calls for immediate suppression. There is also a tendency to forget that natural instincts, like measles, cannot be suppressed, though they may be driven inwards or underground, where they will become far more dangerous. To the thoughful it is obvious that this "off with his head" policy is no solution of the difficulty. The decapitated one will none the less have desired to gamble. To penalise the deed is useless: it is necessary to destroy the desire. Meanwhile, until men are guided by a higher ambition than the excitement of games, it may be of more practical benefit to bear in mind that the devil or Evil has been well defined as misdirected energy. But for the energy that engenders the spirit of enterprise the world would stagnate. That playing games of hazard is among the least worthy manifestations of the spirit of enterprise may be readily admitted. Indeed, as suggested above, it may even be maintained that, on the contrary, the desire to gamble arises from a lack of energy, patience and courage. It is because a man has not sufficient firmness to go forth and make his way by the accomplishment of some useful work that he resorts to the easy device of winning money at games of chance. Probably both explanations are partly correct. The very timid and unenterprising rarely become gamblers; while the more bold and venturous not unfrequently find the rewards of legitimate industry desperately slow in coming.

In any case, in all times the more enterprising and less honest have found surer profit in seeking to ensnare those who, for whatever reason, resorted to games of hazard. Thus cheats and thieves early became the associates of gamblers. But action engenders reaction, and roulette represents the reaction against robbery. The great philosopher, divine and mathematician, Blaise Pascal, was passionately fond of games. Perhaps this was a weakness, but then one of Pascal's most celebrated sayings compares man to a reed: "Man is a reed, the feeblest reed in nature, but he is a reed *that thinks*"; and Pascal did think.

He thought so well that he discovered the laws governing the weight of air, the equilibrium of liquids, the arithmetical triangle, the calculation of probabilities, the hydraulic press and the theory of the cycloid or roulette. From his very birth, according to Michaud's "Biographie Universelle," Pascal devoted himself to "researches concerning combinations in games of hazard." His letters, written in 1654, to the mathematician Fermat, on games of chance, constitute a classic. Then because he wrote a "history of the roulette or trochoid or cycloid" and a "general treatise on the roulette and the dimensions of the curved lines of all roulettes" the impression was engendered that he invented the roulette used for gambling purposes. But the word roulette as used by Pascal applies to something that rolls along like a wheel. The curved line is the line which a spot marked on the circumference of the wheel would draw in space as the wheel rolled forward. The probabilities are that the discoveries of this great geometrician on the laws of chance did encourage the belief that with a mathematically accurate instrument cheating would be impossible and the player would then only have to contend with the laws of chance. The circumference of the roulette wheel can be divided so as to give to each division its precise share of the circle.

Roulette realised the honest gamester's ideal. It drove away the cheat and the thief. Whatever objections there may be to games of hazard there is still more objection to stealing and swindling. Yet even to-day, as in Pascal's time, if a gambler risks his money on a throw of dice, he may meet someone who uses loaded dice. Should the player prefer cards, there are any number of cardsharpers about. Even if he only plays in the most respectable clubs or in the best society, spelt with ever so big an S, the presence of royalty itself has not prevented baccarat scandals. Cheating has been attempted even where there was the least reason to fear dishonest practices: in the palaces of kings as in the lowest gambling hells. Ever since men have given such subjects a thought, they have

endeavoured to discover a method or invent an instrument that would render swindling impossible. The great encyclopædia, the original encyclopædia that so powerfully contributed to bring about the French Revolution, the encyclopædia of Diderot and d'Alembert, says in the second edition: "At the public games held in the hotels of Sèvres and of Soissons, in Paris, roulette was imagined so that players might risk their money in complete security."

Though roulettes of a sort have existed from time immemorial, the marvellous ingenuity with which the numbers are selected and distributed round the Monte Carlo wheel is a comparatively modern device. Something similar existed in the seventeenth century. Pascal died in 1662, and soon after his death roulette began to be recognised as the most honest form of gambling it was possible to establish. Thus when nearly a century later, in 1760, it was decided to legalise gambling it was the game of roulette which found special favour in the eyes of the police authorities. Efforts, it is true, were made on previous occasions to bring gambling under police control, but they had never been successful; at least, not on a large scale. History tells us, for instance, that in the reign of Henri IV. there were fifty gaming establishments which paid a daily tax to the police; and the king himself was a notorious gambler; though Sully ultimately contrived to check this form of royal extravagance. Attempts were also made to classify the gambling resorts. There were a few luxurious hells for the rich, and many commoner places for the poor. Elaborate etiquette, combined with stately ceremonies, was instituted to keep the former select. Nevertheless the story is told of a distinguished gambler to whom some remonstrances were made. Among other things, he was told that all the patrons of the high-class saloon he had the privilege of frequenting were honest people. The player thereupon replied; "Yes, I am well aware of this. They are honest people one of whom gets hanged every week when perchance the law is disposed to do its duty."

The court setting the example, simpler folks also thought it was the proper thing to gamble. Later on Cardinal Mazarin from Italy introduced new games of hazard and found in Louis XIV. a ready pupil. The highest dignitaries of the Church as well as of the court played, and for large sums. As an inspiring example of the true spirit of Christianity prevailing even among the princes of the Church, it is related that Cardinal d'Este, having invited Cardinal de Medici to dinner, contrived to let the latter win at cards some ten thousand crowns. On being reproached for playing so badly, Cardinal d'Este replied that it was poor hospitality to allow one's guests to go away in a bad humour; it did not favour the digestion, and the guests were apt to think they had been made to pay for their dinner.

Cardinal Mazarin not only himself played but persuaded the king to allow him to establish numerous authorised gaming-houses for playing hoca, a game with thirty chances, including two zeros in favour of the bank. After a while, the public protested that the bank was robbing the people for the benefit of the cardinal. The Parliament of Paris showed its reverence for the cardinal and its due appreciation of the proceeding by proposing to enact a law inflicting the death penalty on all who played hoca. This was a brave threat, but it added zest to the pleasure and privilege of playing this very game in court circles. Not only did gambling become more and more usual at court, but cheating at cards was not excluded. The great ladies of the court became so absolutely unscrupulous that passwords were invented to enable them to communicate to each other the amounts gained by illegitimate means. This was especially the case at the receptions given by Madame de Maintenon.

For the sake of securing the presence at court of willing gamblers most disreputable persons were admitted. Lemontey, a distinguished man of letters, in his essay on the Monarchical Establishment of Louis XIV., gives the names of several individuals who had been convicted

of theft and of coining false money, and who were nevertheless received at court when there was any gambling going forward. The Duc de Saint-Simon makes similar complaints; and adds that many members of the aristocracy employed as valets and lackeys soldiers of fortune "addicted to all the vices, and as familiar with theft and assassination as with eating and drinking." Thus it is that Molière and other contemporaneous authors so constantly represent valets as rogues. These unscrupulous servants were useful in doing the dirty work of their masters. No one can read the history of those times without being impressed by the better management of modern casinos. For safety and absence of swindling the twentieth-century casino compares favourably with the court of the great monarch. The improvement represented by the methods of which Monte Carlo is the leading example can be fully appreciated only by acquiring some knowledge of the abominations practised in the past. It is perhaps because the gambling resorts of former times were appropriately called hells that to-day so many persons describe Monte Carlo as an earthly paradise.

The scandal was so great that in 1691 Louis XIV. found it necessary to take action against these degrading abuses. He issued a decree punishing the playing of games of chance by heavy fines or imprisonment for not more than six months. This threat did not, however, have greater effect than the stronger fulminations of the Paris Parliament. A few years later an edict threatened cavalry officers with the death penalty if caught gambling. Nevertheless people still gambled, and under the Regency the evil was even more widespread. For a short time, however, the love of gambling was converted by John Law into a fever for speculation. The Scotsman who, as Voltaire said, became a Frenchman, the Protestant who became a Catholic, the adventurer who became a prince, the banker who became a cabinet minister, carried everything before him, at least for a season. The superstitious will be interested in the fact that near Law's

offices in the rue Quincampoix there was a hunchback. This individual reaped a golden harvest by lending his back to stock-jobbers and others so that they might write out on it their orders for the purchase or sale of Law's shares. The luck that hunchbacks bring was therefore recognised long before the building of modern casinos, nor has their popularity died out. There was a hunchback who frequented the gaming-rooms at Monte Carlo. Whenever anyone ventured to strike his hunch he quickly turned round and informed the caressing stranger that his fee was twenty francs! In spite, however, of the hunchback in the rue Quincampoix, the big bubble burst in 1720. The people, having vented their disappointment by sacking Law's houses and destroying his carriages, returned to the gambling hells they had deserted in his favour.

At last, when Paris was ruled by M. de Sartines, this celebrated Chief of Police determined to regulate what it had proved impossible to abolish. To his mind, the policy of organising and controlling that which could not be prevented was by far the safest course to pursue. Therefore he authorised the opening of houses for certain games, notably roulette, and an ordinance to that effect was issued in 1760. Henceforward games of hazard were only to be played in licensed places, and all clandestine gambling hells sternly suppressed. But M. de Sartines was not anxious to limit and circumscribe the evil. He was determined to utilise the dynamic force wastefulness and evil propensities represent, and so canalise and direct them as to provide the motive power needed to accomplish good works and realise serious economies. In authorising the opening of a gaming saloon, he not only decreed what games should be played and what rules should be enforced but also what was to be done with the money the gamblers were sure to lose. As it so happened that the need of more hospitals was keenly felt at that time, he conceived the admirable idea of employing the money spent in pleasure for the relief of distress. From that day

forth it has been the law in France that no one shall gamble either in a public establishment or on the turf without first paying a handsome quota for the maintenance of hospitals and the succour of the poor.

In England we impose a direct tax on some unnecessary luxuries, such as armorial bearings and dogs; but, while twelve millions of our population live on or below the poverty line, we might tax pleasures on behalf of the poor. In France, on every seat taken at a theatre a percentage is reserved for the hospitals. All the gambling in the casinos is heavily taxed for the poor. No betting on the racecourses is allowed except through the agency of the *Pari Mutuel*, which shares its profits with the *Assistance Publique*, the administration that has charge of the hospitals and all forms of poor relief. At Monte Carlo also the claim is made that by canalising the evil of gambling the administration of the casino attempts to direct its effects to a good purpose. Certainly the people, many of them very foolish people, who have lost their money at the tables have created far-reaching prosperity. By gambling elsewhere and in hidden places the money lost would not be employed to such good purpose. Of this we may be certain if for no other reason than that there is nowhere else the same blaze of publicity. Public opinion is a force that compels even the reluctant.

Thus M. de Sartines, who first attempted on a large scale to organise the means whereby good results could be derived from an acknowledged evil, deserves a place of honour in the annals of the gambling world. The gamblers themselves have the best of reasons to cherish his name with grateful feelings. He not only rendered cheating and robbery more difficult, and therefore less frequent, but he supplied to all gamblers this supreme consolation, that the money they had flung away was not absolutely lost, for some of it would be employed for the best of all purposes—that of reducing the sum-total of human misery.

It must not be thought, however, that the good

intentions of M. de Sartines were at once realised. A great many clandestine hells remained open, and so many scandals occurred that Parliament was again forced to intervene. A law was passed condemning bankers who kept unauthorised gaming places to be branded with a hot iron, flogged, or at least put in the pillory. Thereupon the foreign ambassadors, profiting by the fact that embassies are extra-territorial, allowed one or two rooms to be used for gambling purposes. Instead of the poor of Paris it was the foreign ambassadors, notably the Prussian, Venetian and Swedish envoys, who pocketed a part of the profits. Among the places where gambling used to be authorised was the Café de la Régence. This café still exists, and ranks as one of the oldest historical cafés in Paris. It is situated just opposite the Théâtre Français, and was one of the favourite haunts of Théophile Gautier. To-day it is celebrated for the special excellence of its absinthe, and as the resort of chess-players and of Scandinavian visitors. But the greatest centre of gambling was just opposite, in the Palais Royal. Political changes and revolutions did not affect these places, though, like the cafés, they were each apt to acquire a special political tone. At one time there were as many as thirty such establishments in the Palais Royal. The royalist party especially patronised No. 50. No. 36 was the most respectable, for no women were admitted and no strong drink served. There were also armed "chuckers-out" to expel undesirables. When, in 1814, the allied forces occupied Paris these houses did a great business with the foreign officers. The Duke of Wellington did not gamble, but his colleague, Marshal Blücher, was a constant visitor to No. 154 Palais Royal, playing very high and expressing his dissatisfaction because he was not allowed to put down more than £400 at a time.

In many of these places other attractions were provided. Light refreshments could always be obtained, and very excellent though cheap dinners were generally given twice a week. Ladies, sometimes ladies of title and distinction,

were occasionally invited to preside at the tables, and received fees for doing so. But behind all this gaiety and dissipation the various governments, as they succeeded each other, did not fail to make these establishments pay for the relief of the poor. In Dulaure's great history of Paris, published in 1821, it is stated that in 1818 the Government received £280,000 from these gaming houses, which left them £360,000 net profit. At that time there were in all seven tables for *trente-et-un*, nine for roulette, and one each for *passe-dix*, *craps*, *hazard* and *biribi*. Under the first Revolution, the First Empire and the Restoration the licensed gambling saloons had continued to prosper. But after the Revolution of 1830, the end of the White Terror and the Reaction, a determined agitation was set on foot, at first merely to clear out the evil company which the proximity of gambling attracted to the Palais Royal. But there had been a few suicides, especially at No. 113 ; and No. 154 was so crowded on Sundays as to become a nuisance. Debates on these grievances were held in Parliament, and finally, in 1836, a law was passed to close every gambling resort on the 1st of January 1838. Many descriptions have been given of this last day, and the great crowds that gathered in front of the more notorious resorts. Outside Frascati's an unhappy gambler shot himself before the assembled public, because now that gambling was abolished he had no hope of winning back his losses. At the sinister No. 113 there was also a suicide on this last day, that of a workman.

Needless to say, gambling was not really abolished ; but its worst phase—that of encouraging gambling among poor men like this ill-fated workman—was suppressed. Gambling—that is to say, the form of gambling which consists of playing at games of hazard—was now in the main restricted to the better class of private clubs. Here the majority of members can afford to lose.

CHAPTER II

GAMBLING IN ENGLAND

THOUGH thus far a good deal has been said about gambling in France, this vice was as prevalent in other countries, and especially in England. History does seem to show that the endeavour to control, while tolerating, gambling was first attempted in France. What was begun in France was perfected in Germany, and reached its apogee at Monte Carlo. Therefore, in tracing the evolution which brought about present conditions, the development of events in France has a more direct bearing on the subject. This does not, however, in any way justify a belief that in England we were less afflicted by such evils. There is any amount of evidence to the contrary, and recently a comprehensive summary of the history of gambling, by Mr Ralph Nevill, was published in a book entitled "Light Come, Light Go." Here will be found an account of the vast sums lost by English gamblers in England. Like the kings of France, the kings of England were addicted to this vice. At Blyth House a table used to be preserved on which the Prince Regent staked and won £40,000 from the celebrated gambler, Harry Mellish. On one occasion Harry Mellish lost £97,000; another time he won about £100,000. Under the Georges not only did gambling prevail in more or less disreputable resorts, but also at Brooks's, at White's, at the Thatched House, and other high-class clubs.

In private houses gamblers were welcome, though they did not always constitute a choice company. One of the dukes of Buckingham, who lived where Buckingham Palace now stands, used to entertain once a year the frequenters of a celebrated gambling hell in Marylebone.

The nature of this company may be inferred from the elegant toast which his Grace solemnly proposed on each of these festive occasions:

"May as many of us as remain unhanged next year meet here again."

To-day on this very spot the King of England drinks to the foreign potentates whom he entertains at Buckingham Palace.

Throughout the West End of London up to the year 1845 there were an untold number of gambling hells. These were sometimes appropriately called slaughter-houses. In private dwellings it was also the fashion to gamble extravagantly. Ladies who lived in St James's Square were notorious for such entertainments, and in the course of the eighteenth century the game of E.O. was introduced. This was a precursor of the modern roulette. It was a round table with places marked off at the edge on which to put the stakes. In the centre there was a roulette or wheel which could be spun round in one direction while a ball was sent round in another. The wheel was divided into twenty partitions marked E and twenty marked O. Two were called bar-holes, and when the ball fell in these the bank won half and did not pay the other half. It was the zero of roulette, only there were two zeros in forty chances instead of one in thirty-seven, as at Monte Carlo. This was considered a great improvement on dice. Nevertheless when the floor of the Middle Temple Hall was taken up, close upon a hundred sets of dice were found. They had fallen through the chinks in the boards.

In 1797 the Countess of Buckingham, Lady Elizabeth Luttrell and other leaders of society were prosecuted and fined at the Marlborough Police Court for illegally playing games of hazard. During the course of the proceedings it came out that some of the best families had borrowed from a money-lender, involved in the trial, £180,000 exclusively for gambling purposes. The Duchess of Devonshire, in 1805, was publicly credited with losing

£176,000 at faro. Though money is much cheaper to-day, these are figures that can be compared with the most extravagant stories and legends of Monto Carlo. Charles James Fox, by the time he was twenty-five years old, had ruined himself with no worthier object than the pleasure of playing at faro. Sometimes the play ended dramatically. In 1755 Lord Montford lost his fortune at White's and shot himself. Sir John Bland lost £32,000 at a sitting, and also shot himself, selecting for this purpose the road from Calais to Paris. It is on record that at the Cocoa Tree Club, in 1780, no less than £180,000 was lost in a week. Thus large losses, some followed by suicides, were associated with gambling long before Baden-Baden, Homburg and Monte Carlo came into existence. Lord de Ros, Premier Baron of England, who died in 1837, brought an action against *The Satirist* because it had accused him of unfair play. This event inspired Theodore Hook to write the following epitaph :—

> "Here lies England's Premier Baron
> Patiently awaiting the last trump."

It must not be imagined that every gambler lost. Some few not only won but were wise enough to keep their gains. Thus Colonel Panton invested the money he won at a gambling house in Piccadilly. He bought some land between Leicester Square and the Haymarket, and here built Panton Street, which bears his name to this day.

It cannot be claimed that there is anything new in the idea of running a luxurious casino on the products of gambling. Nor can this be described as something specially belonging to the Continent. Among many others who distinguished themselves in ventures of this description there was a certain fishmonger called William Crockford. According to "Doings in London," illustrated by Cruikshank, he first opened a hell in King Street. From Lord Thanet, Lord Granville and three of their friends he contrived to win about £100,000, and soon possessed the capital necessary to establish the celebrated Crockford's in St James's Street. This magnificent club

or casino cost £94,000 for furnishing alone. The chef, Monsieur Eustach, received a salary of £1200 a year. In 1827 there were 1200 members, each paying £25 annual subscription. The diplomatic corps was admitted free. But the members were not respectful. They could not forget Mr Crockford's original calling in life, and persisted in naming the palace he had built the Fishmonger's Hall. Yet Mr Crockford was not a snob. He did not repudiate his origin. On the contrary, he proudly traced his good fortune back to the selling of sound and fresh fish, especially shell-fish, at the noted old fish shop first established just outside Temple Bar in the reign of Henry VIII. During all his life he preserved a keen affection for the old narrow wooden house with its projecting gables and quaint appearance, and would not allow it to be altered for any consideration.

Mr Crockford engaged Wyatt, the celebrated architect, to build his club in St James's Street, which was constructed in 1827. To-day this building, with some alterations, has been converted into the Devonshire Club. After Crockford's death neither the club in St James's Street nor the fish shop at Temple Bar prospered. The latter became a hairdresser's shop; then a second-hand book dealer occupied the premises till they were pulled down to make room for the new Law Courts. The owner of what may be considered the most successful and important gambling club ever established in England died in May 1844. Mr T. Raikes, in the *Journal*, thus records the event:

"That arch-gambler Crockford is dead, and has left an immense fortune. He was originally a low fishmonger in Fish Street Hill, near the Monument; then a 'leg' at Newmarket and a keeper of 'hells' in London. He finally set up the club in St James's Street opposite to White's, with a hazard bank, by which he won all the disposable money of the men of fashion in London, which was supposed to be near two millions."

At his death, however, it was found that Mr Crockford

left only £700,000, for he had lost a good deal in mining speculations. Mr Raikes says his end was accelerated by anxiety with regard to his bets on the Derby. This is curious and inconsistent. Proprietors of gambling establishments are far too well informed to indulge in gambling. Indeed it is related that some young friend having once asked him for advice Mr Crockford replied:

"I'll tell you what it is, young man. You may call mains at hazard till your hair grows out of your hat and your toes grow out of your boots; my advice to you is not to call any mains at all."

As an example of the luxury and extravagance prevailing at Crockford's, it is said that the dice alone cost £2000 a year. A guinea was paid for each pair, and three new pairs were provided every day; but apart from this supply players often called for new pairs of dice in the hope of changing their luck.

After Crockford's death, the place soon fell to pieces and lost its reputation. During that time of decadence an incident occurred that may have contributed to bring Monte Carlo into existence. In his "Life of Napoleon the Third," Mr Blanchard Jerrold records that in 1847 the proprietor of Crockford's was compelled to return to Prince Napoleon a sum of £2000 "which a cheat had endeavoured to extort from him in that dangerous establishment." In a footnote it is stated that this same proprietor, a successor, but an unsuccessful successor, of the celebrated Crockford, was so reduced in circumstances that in 1865 he begged money from the emperor. Perhaps his unpleasant experience at Crockford's may have so far enlightened the emperor as to make him appreciate the more honest methods of administration established by M. François Blanc at Homburg. Consequently the emperor did not object when the Homburg enterprise was transferred to Monte Carlo. The emperor, it is true, had no legal right to interfere, for Monaco is an independent principality; but nevertheless it was very important to secure his good will. Monaco could not have

resisted had the French Government thought fit to forbid gambling. Such a proceeding might be most arbitrary and opposed to treaty rights, but no European power would have drawn the sword to defend, for the sake of M. Blanc and his roulette-tables, the treaties that guarantee the independence of Monaco. Fortunately for M. Blanc, the emperor while in exile in London had seen what unauthorised and uncontrolled gambling establishments were like. He was one of Crockford's many victims, and perhaps this made him look with favour on the safer methods applied at Homburg. Napoleon III. knew full well that if a casino with roulette-tables was properly managed it would bring wealth and prosperity to the whole neighbouring country. In Germany, and notably at Homburg, this had been very conclusively demonstrated. Yet in no instance had there been such fraud and cheating as that which the emperor himself had experienced in some of the best but uncontrolled gambling resorts of England. The newly annexed province of Nice and the winter stations on the French Riviera, which were beginning to attract visitors, would all derive enormous benefit from their proximity to a Homburg transplanted to the principality of Monaco. On the other hand, it would be the Prince of Monaco and not the Emperor of the French who would have to support the blame and abuse that were sure to be hurled against the casino and the gambling.

Though British legislature is phenomenally slow to move, especially when it is a question of interfering with financial matters, so many persons had been ruined by gambling that on the 8th of August 1845 an Act to amend the law against games and wagers was passed. This law compelled many houses or clubs to close, because gambling was their chief purpose. Such resorts were, however, soon reopened; not, it is true, for games of hazard such as dice, faro or roulette, but as betting centres. By 1850 there were some four hundred houses of this description. Here bets from sixpence and upwards

were taken on races and other events. If the owner made a bad book he bolted, leaving behind him debts that sometimes amounted to several thousands of pounds, like the notorious Dwyer of St Martin's Lane. When in 1851 Miss Nancy, contrary to his anticipations, won the Chester Cup, Dwyer absconded, leaving debts to the amount of £25,000. Volumes could be and have been written describing scandals of this description, and they might be read with advantage by those persons who feel inclined to fling stones at the Monte Carlo casino. Frauds of this character were so frequent that in July 1852 another Act was passed. Its object was the suppression of betting houses, and it sanctioned the infliction of fines up to £100, and imprisonment with hard labour up to six months. Nevertheless to this day there is no difficulty in backing a horse, while clandestine gambling hells are constantly discovered and raided by the police in various parts of the provinces and the metropolis.

Mrs Grundy may frown, Englishmen may pretend to be proud of British virtue and of British institutions; but with regard to gambling we cannot afford to throw stones. Still less should we venture to sling such missiles at a principality where there is no Stock Exchange, no horse racing, no betting, and where neither native nor resident can gamble; for it is only foreigners and aliens who are allowed to approach the closely guarded gaming-tables. No doubt gambling is altogether bad, but the British, which of all people is the most prone to hypocrisy, should be very modest and reserved when speaking of this vice. In any case the Monte Carlo casino, without the slightest hypocritical pretence, opens its doors to foreign gamblers who are rich enough to travel so far for the pleasure of playing. In England gambling is not restricted to foreigners, or even to those who can afford to lose. From the poorest errand-boy up to the plutocrat and the aristocrat all contrive to back horses, bet on football and other matches, or to speculate on 'Change. The latter is probably the most ruinous and disastrous of all gambling

institutions. During a debate on the Budget in the House of Commons it was stated that 90 per cent. of the business transacted on the London Stock Exchange was of a gambling character. Among the various speakers, Mr Markham frankly confessed that he had gambled on 'Change and lost. It seemed to him that these transactions might very well be taxed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, replied that such a tax would stop genuine business.

On the 13th of March 1907, Mr Field, in the House of Commons, asked if the Chancellor were aware that in transactions on the London Stock Exchange the terms of the Leeman's Act *re* bank shares transfers are openly violated; and whether he would take measures to ensure that members of the London Stock Exchange should be required to observe the safeguard imposed by law to prevent gambling in bank shares. Mr Asquith replied:

"I have no information on the subject; but the effect of the Act is merely to invalidate certain contracts if entered into. If people choose to enter into such contracts there is nothing to prevent their doing so, but they do so at their own risk, since these contracts cannot be enforced. The Act imposes no penalty for entering into such contracts unless there be false entries of numbers and names therein."

Thus this form of gambling on the London Stock Exchange is assimilated to other gambling outside where it is not possible to sue for gambling debts. No attempt was made in the House to deny the prevalence of gambling on the Stock Exchange. Then why do so many persons say it is wicked to go to Monte Carlo and yet are not shocked when people frequent the city? If the only business done on the Stock Exchange were legitimate business, one-tenth of the brokers now engaged would suffice. At Berlin, a jobber on the Stock Exchange is called a *schinder—i.e.* "skinner"—and his clients *rinder* or "cattle," an allusion to their stupidity. Why are the "skinned" "cattle" of the Berlin Stock Exchange pre-

ferred to the "shorn sheep" or "plucked birds" of the Monte Carlo casino? The latter, in any case, do not pay so heavy a brokerage and have a much better chance of winning.

The commission paid in England to the stockbroker is generally $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., and $\frac{1}{16}$ for the "cover system." This seems much less than the $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. brokerage the zero represents for the simple chances at roulette. But that does not apply to gambling transactions. The buyer of £4000 of shares pays $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. or £5 commission. It would be a poor business for the broker if the purchaser kept these shares for several years. The gambler, of course, proposes to sell again in a few days, or at most in a few weeks. In the latter event another commission will have to be paid to the broker. This brokerage must not be compared with the nominal value of the shares the gambler never intended to keep and probably could not have paid for, but with the actual amount of money produced. At Monte Carlo the calculations are based, not on the money players may be disposed to risk, but on what they put on the tables. The only money the gambler produces on the Stock Exchange is the sum needed to meet the difference between the purchase and sale price of the shares. It is this difference which constitutes the speculation, the bet or gambling deal. If the brokerage paid be compared with this latter sum it will reach a much higher percentage than that charged at Monte Carlo. In "Chance and Luck" Mr Richard A. Proctor estimates that the $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. commission paid on "cover" transactions practically amounts to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the speculator's money. Further he very conclusively demonstrates how rarely such speculators clear any profit.

The risk incurred at roulette is mathematically defined, and never varies by the smallest conceivable fraction. On the Stock Exchange so great are the interests which engender misrepresentation, the booming of those who wish to sell, the slanderous abuse of those who want to

buy, that by far the safest plan is to speculate in the opposite sense to the advice received. Monte Carlo, like the Stock Exchange, may tempt to gambling, but it does not create an atmosphere of misrepresentation. No amount of lies will produce a series of reds or even of blacks.

The construction of the Monte Carlo roulettes renders cheating absolutely impossible, though faked roulettes have been employed in secret gambling hells. The "Rules and Usages" of the Stock Exchange do not prevent all manner of frauds, and the promotion of bogus companies has become a fine art. When the Water Gas Company came to grief in 1894 the public obtained some insight into such proceedings. They learned that brokers in the country were asked to order three times as many shares as they required, and promises were made that only a third of what they asked for would be allotted to them. These facts were brought before the Lord Chief Justice in March 1896, and it was then further elicited that the brokers in league were advised not to sell till after a special settlement. By this means the shares were cornered and the price forced up twenty-one points in a month. But it is not the purpose of this volume to deal with Stock Exchange swindling, whether British or foreign.

What is called speculation on 'Change—what is, to all intents and purposes, mere gambling—not only entails a terrible waste of intelligence, energy and time, but is the cause of daily ruin and of innumerable suicides. The author of "The Gambling World" relates, for instance, that after the great exhibition at Vienna there was such a sudden difference in the prices of certain securities bought and sold on the Vienna Bourse that in the space of two months there were no fewer than thirty-three suicides in Austria alone, all being attributed to this crisis on 'Change. And in England how many suicides did the Liberator frauds cause? On that occasion about £2,000,000 of money disappeared under the very noses of the directors. Lying prospectuses and cooked balance-sheets all helped to ensnare the public. About the same

time a banking firm collapsed in the city. The loss was set down at £600,000, and this money had been deposited for the most part by poor and thrifty people. The head partner committed suicide, and therefore the Treasury, we are told by the same author, stopped the prosecution. Why? The investors, poor souls, got one shilling in the pound. It would be interesting to inquire whether any of these defrauded investors are disposed to sign a petition for closing the casino at Monte Carlo, or whether they would prefer that something should be done to exercise a better and more effective control over the financial transactions that take place within the historic precincts of the city of London.

Gambling is undoubtedly an evil, and its suppression would be a benefit to humanity; but the most dishonest and dangerous forms of gambling should be dealt with first. People must not be ensnared into gambling ventures under the pretext of *bona fide* and honourable investments. Where gambling is practised in the broad daylight, under immutable and clearly defined conditions that render deception or cheating impossible, the conditions begin to differ. When, further, it is found that a large part of the profits are devoted to the relief of taxation and to the special benefit of the poor; and that to obtain these profits no one is tempted to play, no bogus prospectuses are issued to allure investors; we may, perhaps, conclude that this is a form of gambling we can continue to tolerate till such time, at least, as gambling on 'Change and on the turf has been definitely abolished.

What is here recorded of France and England applies to other nations. All live in glass houses, and none can afford to throw stones. Thus, for example, to take but one single and recent incident: *McClure's Magazine* for October 1911 publishes an account of the "recall" at Seattle, written by Mr Burton J. Hendrick. Here the mayor before his election in 1910 promised to have a "restricted area" for gambling, prostitution and kindred social evils. In the execution of this promise, Seattle itself

became a "restricted area" of vice for the north-western states. The Northern Club, the great gambling emporium, earned 200,000 dollars in fifty-four days: not a bad beginning. One of the largest houses of ill-fame netted for its proprietors from 10,000 to 12,000 dollars per month. The chief of the police received ten dollars a month from each woman in its employ, and as there were nearly a hundred of them it made a good income. A huge venture was started called the Hillside Improvement Company, where the largest home of vice was to contain 250 rooms with suitable occupants, so as to bring in half-a-million dollars a year. But the Public Welfare League succeeded in getting a petition for the "recall" of the mayor signed by the required 25 per cent. of the electors. Women voters, especially workgirls and shopgirls, being the principal victims, helped largely. When, as the result of this petition, a decent mayor and chief of police were appointed, 2000 or 3000 men and women of the least desirable description left Seattle.

But enough. No one defends gambling, the directors of the Monte Carlo casino not excluded. It is all very well to play when it is only play, but when people lose more than they can afford it ceases to be play. When an innocent amusement thus degenerates into gambling it is universally condemned. Therefore if this can be restricted or prevented, well and good; but let there be no hypocrisy about it, no picking motes out of other people's eyes and neglecting the beam in one's own. It would be unjust and bad policy to attack that which is most honest and best controlled while we have at home sinks of iniquity that are still untouched.

CHAPTER III

HOMBURG THE CRADLE OF MONTE CARLO

OBVIOUSLY the abolition of public gaming establishments in France greatly enhanced the fortunes of the German watering-places on or near the Rhine. At most of these resorts there were gaming-tables, and under the pretext of drinking the waters a large number of people indulged their gambling proclivities. Even William, the first Emperor of United Germany, used in his younger days to play at Aix-la-Chapelle; and it is related that on one occasion he gave all his winnings to a distressed officer who was watching him. But now the French also came to the German resorts; not only the gamblers, but bankers with their roulette-tables and their large capital. Skilled croupiers trained in prosperous French gambling houses established themselves on German territory. Nevertheless it requires men of special genius and enterprise to create what is now understood by the term casino. Thus, for instance, the Romans had discovered the virtue of the waters at Baden-Baden and named the place *Civitas Aureliæ Aquensis*. The modern world only began to realise that there were valuable mineral waters at Baden-Baden when in 1808 a "Conversationshaus" was opened and gaming-tables set up. The same may be said of Wiesbaden, where the Romans also discovered the waters, though they were not extensively utilised till the Kursaal, with its celebrated twenty-four Doric columns, was built in 1810. Much may be said about the beautiful surrounding scenery and the real benefit to be derived from the mineral springs; but neither Baden-Baden nor Wiesbaden would ever

have acquired their modern popularity had it not been for the enterprise and genius of such men as Benazet, Dupressoir and other managers who knew how to spend and pay in a lavish, regal manner. Thus though but the lessee of the gaming-tables, M. Benazet was generally recognised as the uncrowned monarch, and popularly known as *le roi de Bâde*. His personal appearance helped to justify this sobriquet. He had a commanding presence, jet-black hair, a large, hooked nose, but his was the Arab, not the Jewish, type. By a strange idiosyncrasy, which was much noticed and created not a little amusement, his vanity was concentrated on his silk stockings, which he never failed to show off.

Aided by his striking personality, but still more by his personal tact, M. Benazet became a general favourite, and people, as it were, held their breath when his name was mentioned. It seemed to spell gold and things that glittered. He personified all that was comprised in the name Baden-Baden, and these two words had become a magic formula. What could success, rewarded by a holiday, mean, if not a few weeks at Baden-Baden? The conversation house, though it had been rebuilt in 1824, could not satisfy the Oriental conception of luxury that dwelt in M. Benazet's imagination. Consequently, in 1854, it was greatly enlarged, with ambitious architectural developments and most gorgeous decoration. So also at Wiesbaden, in 1862, was the Kursaal rebuilt in palatial style, and many other towns sought fortune by establishing Kursaals with gambling-tables. These flourished more or less at Schwalback, Kissingen, Ems, Spa in Belgium, but close to the Prussian frontier, and many other places. A gaming saloon was opened even at a railway station, at Kathen, but it acquired such a bad reputation that it was closed in 1845 by the Duke of Anhalt-Köthen.

While these developments were taking place two Frenchmen were watching, and wondering whether they might venture to participate in the tide of emigration which had carried so many promoters of gambling houses

from France to Germany. These were the twin brothers, Louis Joseph and François Blanc. They were born at Courthezon in the department of Vaucluse, and their father seems to have had some business connected with the Bordeaux Exchange. In any case, the two brothers, while in no wise wealthy, possessed a small capital which they were eager to invest in some specially profitable manner. The successful career of M. Benazet and men of his stamp was to them an enlightening example. Fortunately no one had discovered or thought of Homburg. This was the more remarkable as it possessed great advantages; for the weaker and the more impecunious the government the easier the negotiations. The Grand duchy of Baden and the duchy of Nassau, with Wiesbaden as its capital, were both important principalities, especially when compared with the landgraviate of Hesse-Homburg.

The landgraviate was created under Prince Frederick I. in 1622, and the present princely residence was built by his successor, Frederick II., better known as the Silver Leg. It was not till 1766 that the Landgrave Frederick Louis began to call attention to the mineral springs which ultimately became the real and permanent source of the town's fame and fortune. The landgrave even succeeded in attracting some German princes to Homburg, but they were all too poor to be of much use. Greater by far was the achievement of the next reigning prince, for he married Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King George III. of England. The British princess brought with her a solid £10,000 a year to add to the 20,000 florins which constituted the Civil List of the reigning sovereigns of Hesse-Homburg. The brothers of the landgrave had only 6000 florins a year, and to increase this very modest income had to serve, some in the Prussian, others in the Austrian army. Ultimately they or their descendants fought against each other during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. The £10,000 from the British Civil List, a sum we could ill afford at the time, was the first gleam of real

prosperity that shone on the landgraviate. Gardens and walks were laid out; some old houses were pulled down and other improvements effected. The people in their gratitude named their principal spring the Elisabeth-brunnen, after the British consort of the landgrave. At last visitors were sufficiently numerous for an official record to be kept. The first of these documents is dated 1834, and that year there were 155 visitors to Homburg. Two years later this figure was almost doubled, for 294 visitors went to Homburg in 1836; and 1839 saw a still greater increase, the number reaching 829.

A great change was now approaching: the construction of railways had begun. The German gambling resorts, already profiting largely by the abolition of public gaming houses in France, had reason to anticipate still greater advantages from the more rapid, more easy and cheaper mode of travelling promised by the railways. The brothers Blanc determined to secure a firm footing in time to benefit by this boon when it came. They had not, it is true, sufficient capital; but if luck favoured them at first their position for the future would be secure. They put on as bold an appearance as possible; and by good fortune they had to deal with a new landgrave, who was much oppressed by the financial difficulties of his little principality. Larger countries than his had been lifted out of poverty and insignificance by the presence of a well-conducted Kursaal; and perhaps the brothers Blanc were the right men to effect such a transformation. The Landgrave Philip gave them permission to establish gaming-tables, but their slender resources obliged them to begin in a very modest manner. It was in 1841 that the roulette wheel spun round in Homburg for the first time, in a small house close to the Ludovic spring, which is now used for an institute of mechano-therapeutics.

To this day the old inhabitants of Homburg recall the advent of the two brothers with their roulette-tables, regret their departure, and laugh over the many clever things they did. The modern glories of Monte Carlo shed

a lustre over Homburg. But for Homburg there would have been no Monte Carlo; indeed if M. François Blanc had not married a native of the landgraviate it is very probable that the uninhabited hill of the Spélugnes would only be known for the caverns after which it is named. It required the genius of a François Blanc to convert this arid hill of the caves into Monte Carlo. While indulging in speculations as to what might not have been, it may be permissible to go a step farther back and to argue that if Louis XIV. of France had not revoked the Edict of Nantes there would have been no Monte Carlo. By this act of intolerance, which bears the date of 1685, Louis XIV. drove some 300,000 Huguenots out of France. Many of them were excellent workers, yet they were compelled to go and enrich by their labour the industries of other countries. A few of the fugitives obtained land and created a small French village on the outskirts of Homburg. They could not of course remain French subjects for a century and a half, but they still retained the French language and many French customs. Among the descendants of these old Huguenot exiles, occupying a very humble position, in spite of his ancient lineage, was one Gaspard Henzal. He married Catherine Stemler, who gave birth, on the 23rd September 1833, at Friedrichsdorf (Homburg), to a daughter, duly christened Marie Charlotte. When this little daughter grew up she was taught French in memory of her French descent, and as the brothers Blanc knew very little German they were glad to accept her services to help in translating and in housekeeping. Not much time elapsed before she found means of rendering herself almost indispensable. Being both clever and good-looking, she ultimately became so great a favourite that the position was quite compromising.

Attempts were made at separation, with the usual accompaniment of tears and wild counsels of despair. In reality, though at first unwilling to admit the fact, M. François Blanc was by this time deeply in love with his young housekeeper, but feared she was of too lowly a

position and too ignorant to be his wife. Besides, he was so much older, and he had two sons, Charles and Camille. At last, as Mademoiselle Henzal was really very intelligent, and M. François Blanc felt he could not cure himself of his love, he offered to marry her if she would first go to a High School and be properly educated. These terms were accepted with enthusiasm, and the future Madame Blanc profited to the utmost by the education she received. It was on the 20th June 1854, at the Town Hall of the Second District (*arrondissement*) of Paris, that Mademoiselle Henzal was married to M. François Blanc, and by her devotion and wise advice she soon repaid her husband for all the trouble he had taken.

In some respects Madame Blanc showed herself as capable of advising and of ruling as M. François Blanc himself. Madame Blanc was notably well able to look into the future, and persistently warned M. Blanc that gambling would be abolished. In vain M. Blanc assured her that the Government of Hesse-Homburg had given him every guarantee; Madame Blanc as persistently retorted by inquiring who had guaranteed Hesse-Homburg. Madame Blanc had the perspicacity to see that such petty principalities would not last much longer. To her German unity was no dream but an approaching reality. The roar of the cannon of Sadowa was not needed to awaken her to the danger of the situation. Three years previously—that is, in 1863—M. François Blanc had already secured the Monaco concession, and it was Madame Blanc who made this choice and insisted that it would be quite possible to transfer to Monaco the glories of Homburg. Now, but for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes there would have been no French Huguenot settlement near Homburg ready to provide a fascinating interpreter. If M. François Blanc had married someone with other tastes it is not likely that he would have invested his fortune in the principality of Monaco. Hence it may be argued that but for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes it is probable there would have been no Monte Carlo. This may

be said with all the more confidence as no one else was capable of creating the Monte Carlo casino. Several others had tried before M. Blanc came to Monaco, and had signally failed.

To return to the fortunes of the Blanc brothers and their earlier efforts, it soon became evident that M. François Blanc was destined to take the lead, for he showed himself to be an enterprising manager, a profound financier and an able diplomat. Nevertheless, if luck had not been in his favour in the first instance, the venture might have failed for want of capital. Even to this day it is still related by the old inhabitants of Homburg that at first all the *rouleaux* in the till did not contain gold coins. By holding one end of a genuine *rouleaux* and giving the other end a sharp rap on the table the paper tears in the middle and the gold pieces drop out. Care was taken, now and again, to perform this interesting operation so as to inspire confidence and to conceal the fact that some of the *rouleaux* only contained a round piece of wood. The croupier could easily tell by the weight which were the real and which the dummy *rouleaux*. When, however, the winnings began to accumulate, gold was substituted for wood, as there was no further need to employ dummies.

This little stratagem on the part of the bank was innocence itself compared with the fraudulent practices attempted by some of the players. They also played with *rouleaux*, but these were sometimes made with false coins carefully mixed with lead so as to weigh the same as gold. To defeat this manœuvre the bank cut away small portions of the paper so that a part of some of the gold coins could be seen. This was soon imitated, real coins being placed opposite the holes and false ones in the space between. Thus it came about that the use of *rouleaux* was entirely abolished. They were popular in times gone by and very convenient for manipulating large sums, but they lent themselves too readily to various forms of swindling. When there is so much money lying loose on a table it is not surprising if thieves and swindlers gather round,

feeling that there surely must be some way of purloining a little of it.

Among the first visitors to the roulette newly established at Homburg there came from the great castle that overshadows the neighbouring town of Hanau the Kurfürst von Hessen. This gentleman was an all-important local notability, somewhat impetuous and reckless. He soon contrived to lose 100,000 gulden at roulette, and this was the commencement of the Blanc brothers' good fortune. It was believed at the time that this sum was larger than the original capital they were able to invest in the venture. Now there would be no difficulty in replacing the wooden *rouleaux* by real gold. Yet the advantage thus gained at a time when it was most needed was soon to be converted into a serious and permanent loss for the town of Homburg. The Kurfürst von Hessen, having gambled away all his disposable cash, applied to the proprietor of the gambling concession for a loan, so that he might win it back again. But Messieurs Blanc did not see the matter in quite the same light. They were, on the contrary, congratulating themselves on having bridged over the great difficulty and peril of commencing a business with insufficient capital. They had enough experience to know that a gambler never wins his money back ; for, however lucky he may be, he always continues playing till the luck changes and he once more loses everything. How then would the Kurfürst von Hessen repay the money he proposed to borrow ?

These were the days when all princely families that respected themselves thought they were in honour bound to imitate the palace of Versailles by having an *orangerie.* Orange-trees to bring out in the garden during summer, to lock up in a hothouse in the winter, were pre-eminently the fashionable mark of distinction. In his castle at Hanau, the Kurfürst von Hessen had a very fine portable orange grove, and the Blanc brothers rightly concluded that these orange-trees would impart an air of distinction to the casino they already thought of building. The ultimate

result was that the aristocratic orange-trees were pledged for a loan of vulgar money, and this to the extent of 40,000 gulden. In spite, however, of such reinforcements in hard cash, the Kurfürst von Hessen never won back his 100,000 gulden, and died before he was able to repay the loan on the orange-trees. His successor was very angry. His pride of estate was sorely wounded by the absence of the orange-trees. They were the heirlooms of a great and aristocratic family, and were never intended to grace the approaches of a roulette-table. The new Kurfürst von Hessen proudly declared that he meant to have the orange-trees back, and despatched a haughty message to that effect. A very polite reply was returned. The casino administration was charmed, and most willing to restore the orange-trees, as soon as the 40,000 gulden advanced were repaid. The negotiations now degenerated into a quarrel, for as the Lord of Hanau had neither money nor law on his side, all he could do was to use strong language and swear vengeance.

Unfortunately an early opportunity of revenge occurred. Railways were now being constructed in all directions, and it was proposed to connect Homburg with Frankfort by rail. Such a line would have to pass through a part of the Kurfürst von Hessen's estate, and here the opportunity of revenge presented itself. The nobleman at once assumed an attitude of virtuous indignation and would not allow a foot of his land to be touched. His estate should not be desecrated by noisy, smoking railway trains filled with gamblers from all parts of the world. As a result of this miserable quarrel every person, whether a gambler or a poor peasant going to market, who has occasion to travel by train between Homburg and Frankfort must follow a roundabout route so as to avoid the estates of the Kurfürst von Hessen. If the line could have been constructed across these estates the journey from Frankfort to Homburg would take about twenty instead of thirty-five minutes. The gambling at Homburg has long since been abolished; nevertheless this delay is

still endured because once upon a time a petty German lordling lost his temper over a gambling debt of 40,000 gulden.

It should also be noted that the other parties to the quarrel nearly lost the orange-trees. If the orange blossom is the symbol of matrimony, and if, as generally admitted, gamblers are not good husbands, it is quite in keeping with their meaning that the orange-trees should not have prospered in the vicinity of gambling-tables. In any case, they began to sicken even unto death till another British princess came to favour the fortunes of Homburg. The late Empress Frederick, eldest daughter of her late Majesty Victoria, Queen of England, who was at that time Crown Princess of Prussia, bought the orange-trees and had them transferred to her garden at Kronberg. Here a skilled gardener restored them to health.

The first year after the installation of roulette at Homburg the number of visitors was doubled; but this did not mean much, for it only amounted to 1732. Five years later, however, in 1847, it was 5187, and in 1850 rose to 10,105. This for some time seemed to be about the high-water mark, for in 1865 the number of visitors had only increased to 12,473. Nevertheless this was quite sufficient to ensure the fortunes of Homburg and the Blanc family. Mr Percy Fitzgerald, in his "Fatal Zero, a Homburg Diary," gives a picture of the popularity of the town in the sixties. His clever study, written to show how a sanctimonious prig is likely to become the worst gambler of the whole company, affords also some insight into the allurements and attractions of the gay town. As a contrast to this somewhat severe and serious book, but dealing with the same period, we have the amusing frivolities in which the late George Augustus Sala excelled. "Make your Game" is the title of his book, and in it Sala describes himself as the "man with the iron chest." Doubtless this was the coffer constructed to carry away the treasure to be secured at Homburg by the aid of the wonderful system he had studied so deeply. What this

system was is best described in Sala's own inimitable words. He had "applied it in theory at home, both to roulette and *rouge et noir*; then essayed it, as he termed it, with 'blank cartridge,' using haricot beans in lieu of money, and carefully debiting and crediting himself with the loss and profit; he had worked out hundreds of diagrams on paper, entirely to his own satisfaction, and at one time stood to win no less than seventy-one thousand six hundred and three haricot beans; and finally, he arrived at the mature conclusion that his system was really infallible, and that, properly played, it must as infallibly bring him in a large fortune. The munificence of his intentions, at this stage of his enthusiastic castle-building, with respect to the already-mentioned Julia, could only be equalled by the Monte Christo-like extravagance of his plans for purchasing landed estates in Devonshire, baronial titles in Germany, and for releasing the sumptuous diamonds of his family from the tribulation under which they had so long lain at the hands of certain commercial firms of Lombard extraction. The red-nosed man, in fact, had secretly determined, as soon as his fortune was made, to 'have his rights,' and 'show the world what he was made of.'"

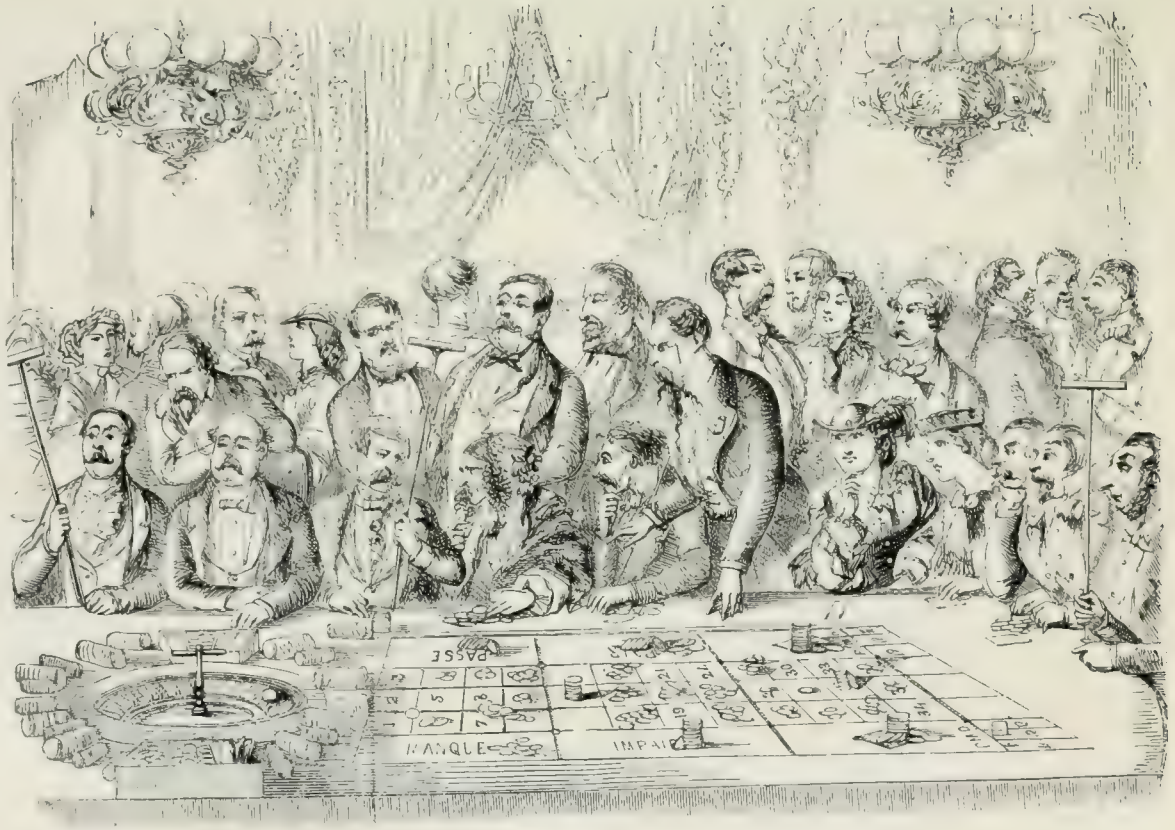
The wonderful system, if indeed it ever had any other existence than that born of journalistic imagination, utterly failed to work. The author confesses that "the chandeliers and the money-clinking got into his head, somehow, and confused it." Therefore he concludes with the following excellent piece of advice:—

"Consider all these things, my son, and be wise ere you steam up the Rhine towards Homburg-von-der-Höde; for if you go there, and be made of ordinary flesh and blood—I am not writing for oysters or icebergs—you must play, and will in all probability leave your skin behind you.

"Of course there are the people who have won, do win, and will win in Homburg, and at Baden and elsewhere. There are the tremendous and almost superhuman

runs of luck such as no bank can foresee or withstand; such as enriched the notorious Baron de Worms and gave a hundred thousand francs clear profit apiece to two players who did not in the least need such a bonus—the late Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and the Austrian General Haynau, of detestable memory. Then—there is no use in denying it—there are the people who are born to be lucky at games of chance, and who, at whatsoever game they play—loo, poker, roulette, or blind hookey—can almost be certified to come off the winners. But, *en revanche*, these lucky ones generally outstep the boundaries of their luck by greedy persistence or by audaciously rash speculations. They ride the free horse to death, tire out the patience of Fortune and are ruined in the long run."

Sala and his companions did not make their game very successfully at roulette but they made some very amusing pen-and-ink sketches. One of these, representing a corner of the roulette-table, is here reproduced. Standing behind, to the left of an old lady with corkscrew curls, is G. A. S. himself frowning at his waning fortunes. The stout gentleman with the flowing moustache is the late Horace, better known as "Ponny," Mayhew. In the pocket of his capacious waistcoat he always carried a goodly store of sixpenny bits. If anyone in his presence said something humorous or made a good joke he at once handed him over a sixpenny bit, and nothing would induce him to take it back. On the other hand, having thus relieved his conscience, he had no further scruples in sending the joke to *Punch*. The third member of the party, called "the slim gentleman," comes next. He may be recognised by his long hair, nose and tie. This was none other than the elder Vizetelly, irreverently called Wizenbelly in press circles, who for many years was one of the leading artists on the staff of *The Illustrated London News*. The interesting trio, having failed to break the bank, contented themselves by writing nursery rhymes about the whole process, of which the following are some samples:—



George Augustus Sala at the Homburg Roulette

"A flat he would a-gambling go,
Heigh ho! says Roulette,
Whether the banker would let him or no;
With his raky, shaky croupier and cards,
Heigh ho, says Antony Roulette."

Then we are told that

"Humpty Dumpty laid on the *Noir*—
Humpty Dumpty lost; and he swore
Not all his gold watch, pin, sleeve-buttons and chain,
Can pay Humpty's loss at the Kursaal again."

Finally we are invited to note "how vigorous is the metrical flow of

"'High diddle fiddle, Roulette's all a diddle,
When you win you jump out of your skin;
But the banker he laughs to see such sport,
And the croupe runs away with the tin.'"

Sometimes, however, as Sala admits in the passage just quoted, it is the player who "runs away with the tin." Fortunately for the Blanc family, the players with phenomenal luck only came after ordinary gamblers had lost so much that such an onslaught could be faced without fear. As notorious in his day as the "Wells who broke the Bank at Monte Carlo," there was Garcia's run on red at Homburg. With £80 this adventurer, for he had no better reputation than the Wells of Monte Carlo, won £20,000 on red. An Englishman who was playing at the same time, and who very naturally supposed that Garcia was forcing his luck and that the series of reds could not continue much longer, well-nigh ruined himself by backing black. In "Chance and Luck" the late Richard A. Proctor, editor of *Knowledge*, alludes to Garcia's wonderful luck. The distinguished astronomer, mathematician and Egyptologist quotes the following description of Garcia's triumphs at Homburg, who "commenced his gambling career by staking very small sums; but, by the most extraordinary luck, he was able to increase his capital

to such an extent that he now rarely stakes under the maximum, and almost always wins. They say that when the croupiers see him place his money on the table, they immediately prepare to pay him, without waiting to see if he has actually won, and that they have offered him a handsome sum down to desist from playing while he remains here. Crowds of people stand outside the Kursaal doors every morning, awaiting his arrival, when he comes following him into the room, and staking as he stakes. When he ceases playing they accompany him to the door, and shower on him congratulations and thanks for the good fortune he has brought them. See how all the people make way for him at the table, and how deferential are the subdued greetings of his acquaintances! He does not bring much money with him, his luck is too great to require it. He takes some notes out of a case, and places maximums on black and *couleur*. A crowd of eager hands are immediately outstretched from all parts of the table, heaping up silver and gold and notes on the spaces on which he has staked his money, till there scarcely seems room for another coin, while the other spaces on the table only contain a few florins staked by sceptics who refuse to believe in the count's luck." He wins; and the narrative proceeds to describe his continued successes until he rises from the table a winner of 100,000 francs at that sitting.

According to one version, Garcia's luck turned; he had lost everything except £6000; when his luck returned he had another series on red, winning fourteen times in succession, and retired with £50,000; some say more. It is difficult, however, to ascertain what precisely happened. Though most of the books written on the subject allude to Garcia's wonderful luck the accounts differ at least in matters of detail. The author of "The Gambling World" says that after winning £70,000 at Homburg one year he returned the next season and lost £80,000. After that this author relates that he went altogether to the bad, frequenting private gambling hells, where he got into disgrace. On the other

hand, one of the old casino employees now at Monte Carlo, but formerly at Homburg, told me that he knew Garcia very well and that he won 3,000,000 francs, or £120,000. In 1869 Garcia was at Monte Carlo. He was a Spaniard, and ultimately retired from the world to join the Trappist Order, with whom he died.

In 1866 the war broke out between Russia and Austria, and then Madame Blanc's prescience was fully vindicated. Hesse-Homburg might guarantee the casino, but after the battle of Sadowa there remained no power willing and capable of guaranteeing Hesse-Homburg. Frankfort and all the surrounding country, including Homburg, was swallowed up by Prussia at a single mouthful. The landgrave of Hesse-Homburg was abolished. Its capital, Homburg, became simply a town in the *kreis* or district of Ober-Taunus and an integral part of the kingdom of Prussia. But gambling houses had been abolished in the kingdom of Prussia long ago. However, some respect had to be shown to vested interests. Then it was thought only decent to give the casino time to provide means for the payment of its own funeral, and everyone agreed that it was well entitled to a most expensive and first-class funeral. The casino was therefore allowed to continue till the 31st of December 1872, but it had to pay an annual tax of £24,000 as Homburg, denuded of the resources the casino brought, would need a reserve fund to bury its old life and start on a new existence. Therefore visitors were still made welcome, and in spite of the impending end continued to increase till their number in 1869 amounted to 19,843. Even in 1870, during the Franco-German War, there were 10,841 visitors. The next year, regardless of the bitterness caused by the war, there came 18,867 visitors; and 1872 was the record year, with its list of 21,001.

This was the culminating point: on the 1st of January 1873 workmen only were admitted to the casino, so that the gaming-tables might be removed. On all sides the situation was viewed with blank despair. The French, who

had so greatly contributed to the elegance and gaiety of Homburg, would certainly not come, nor the Russians, the Italians, nor the wealthy diamond lords from South America. No one would come unless it were a few quiet English folks just to drink the waters. Nevertheless £150,000 out of the tax the casino administration had been made to pay was invested at 5 per cent. interest. This constituted an endowment for the upkeep of the palatial casino, the magnificent park and gardens and all the many improvements for taking the waters. Entertainments could still be given, though there was not money enough to pay for the best artists and performers. As the visitors could no longer contribute by playing roulette, a direct tax is imposed on them. It used to be sixteen, now it is twenty marks or shillings for every visitor who remains more than three days at Homburg. But what would the town have done if it had been obliged to provide its own parks and build its casino?

Of course the old style of prosperity has departed, but sufficient remains to show that after all Homburg did not depend exclusively on gambling. To the great surprise of the inhabitants, 9287 visitors came during the first year after the abolition of the games. In 1860, when gambling was in full activity, there was nearly the same number of visitors—namely, 9570. In twelve years, with the aid of the resources derived from the games, the number of visitors increased to 21,001. When this aid was no longer forthcoming, during the twelve years that followed the abolition of gambling, the increase of visitors to Homburg only reached the figure of 11,679. This was in 1885, and since then the progress has continued at the same slow rate. These figures are of equal importance to those who favour and those who oppose the abolition of the gaming at Monte Carlo. They show that at Homburg, as is undoubtedly the case to-day at Monte Carlo, there is a considerable number of visitors who went and still go there not to gamble but in spite of the gambling. Visitors continue to frequent Homburg for the sake of its waters

as they would continue to spend the winter at Monte Carlo for the sake of its climate and beauty. Nevertheless, neither Homburg nor Monte Carlo, nor the Riviera generally, would have been so extensively patronised by those who do not gamble but for the celebrity given to these places by M. François Blanc and his successors.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CASINO

EVEN before the annexation by France of Nice and Savoy, comprising therein the rebellious Monegasque communes of Menton and Roquebrune, Charles III. wisely recognised that the only future for his little principality was its conversion into a pleasure and health resort. His hold on four-fifths of the principality was precarious. What with Sardinian emissaries striving to foment dissatisfaction so as to create a pretext for annexation, and the real causes of complaint—the excessive taxation, combined with the unrelieved prospect of prolonged poverty—the Monegasques had been in a rebellious frame of mind ever since 1848. Something had to be done to relieve taxation, to lessen the causes of discontent and make the people understand that they had every advantage in remaining an independent principality instead of allowing themselves to be absorbed by the King of Piedmont. Obviously, money was wanted, and money is made in manufacturing centres, where communication is rapid and easy; not in out-of-the-way, inaccessible and purely agricultural districts like Monaco. What the principality produced could not be readily disposed of as there was no easy means of transport. Boys trod on the finest peaches to get the stones because the fruit itself was too heavy to carry to places where it might be sold. Few of the inhabitants had ever seen such a thing as a gold coin; but Prince Charles knew something of the golden harvest reaped by the casinos of Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden and other places. As an alternative between the dismemberment and continued poverty of the

principality, a casino, if an evil, seemed by far the lesser evil. Perfection in this world being unknown, perhaps true wisdom resides in the ability to recognise the lesser evil of two.

Casinos, however, are not to be had for the asking. At Hyères, many years ago, I met a gentleman who gambled away all his money at Baden-Baden. When thus ruined he called on M. Benazet and explained that having lost all his money playing against the bank, he now wished to place himself on the other side and work for the bank. Glad to recruit a gentleman of good education and distinguished manners, M. Benazet willingly employed him. In the course of time his courage and industry were duly rewarded, and now he was in a position to come to Hyères so as to obtain a concession to start a casino in that town. Then it was, after hearing these preliminary explanations, that I was made to understand what a very difficult thing it is to organise and manage a casino. Indeed, it seems to be quite a technique in itself, and I was assured that many years of work in the lower grades of the service were necessary before it was safe to assume the supreme command. Apparently it was for want of any such apprenticeship that the early casinos at Monaco were egregious failures.

The first to make the attempt were M. Napoléon Langlois and M. Albert Aubert. The latter was a journalist, and contributed to the comic paper, the *Charivari*—not that such literary ability is any evidence of capacity in casino management. Nevertheless these two partners managed to found a society with a capital of £100,000, and in 1856 obtained a concession from Prince Charles which was to last thirty years. They secured as premises the rather large house—large for those days—which faces the palace and overlooks the great square. This building still exists, and now serves as the barracks of the palace guards. Here, on the 14th of October 1856, the roulette wheel was sent spinning round for the first time in the principality. If ultimately this proved to be

the wheel of fortune, at first it only brought ruin. The initiators soon got tired, and were very pleased to hand over all their privileges to another society. The representative of this was the Marquis d'Arnesano, and fresh blood was infused into it in the person of M. Frossard de Lilbonne. The new combination got into harness on the 15th of November 1857, yet by the 31st of December of the same year they had sold out to M. Daval. Thus in one year and two months the casino changed proprietors three times. Evidently the old employee of M. Benazet I had met at Hyères was quiet right when he insisted that it required special knowledge, and above all special tact, to run a casino.

M. Daval seems to have been the first manager who possessed the right sort of instinct. He at least understood that a casino could not prosper in silence. Like a show at the fair, there must be a big drum outside. Therefore M. Daval determined upon a new inauguration and a splendid banquet. All the notabilities, functionaries, artists, literary men anywhere within reach must not only be invited but brought to Monaco in carriages specially hired for the purpose. There was to be a lavish display of ribbons on the harness of the horses combining the Monegasque and the French colours, and thus each carriage was in itself a good advertisement. Then there were the speeches at the banquet, which of course would be reported far and wide. Finally, as a climax, Prince Charles himself was to appear at the dessert. With overflowing bowls, everyone drank to everyone else, and above all to the success of the casino and its new manager. In spite of greater dash and ability, M. Daval had to give up the struggle in less than two years, and died miserably in a hospital at Marseilles.

Play did not continue all the time in the same building, but was transferred to a house grandiloquently called "The Palace," which belonged to M. Dumond, the former partner of M. de Villemessant of *Figaro* fame. This building, with appropriate alterations, now serves for the

THE CROUPIERS OF THE OLD MONEGASQUE GAMBLING TABLES WATCHING FOR THE ARRIVAL OF PLAYERS

From a contemporary drawing

Government Offices overlooking the Place de la Visitation. Close by there stood the *Café du Soleil*, about which sinister stories are told. Though, in these early days, a minimum stake of two francs was allowed, there were players who had not even this sum remaining. They then congregated at the café and played for pennies or half-franc pieces, till at last someone would so far redeem his fortunes as to be the possessor of a complete two-franc piece; then he could return to the casino and have one more chance. But even players with only two-franc pieces to risk were quite rare. Hours would go by and no one come to play. The croupiers, weary of waiting, would go out and walk about smoking cigarettes. At last someone had the happy idea of placing a telescope on the ramparts. Through this glass a good watch could be kept on the road, and if anyone appeared, or a carriage came in sight that suggested the approach of players, it would be time enough for the croupiers to go back to the casino and take their accustomed places at the roulette-table. The illustration representing croupiers at Monaco watching for players is reproduced from M. Charles Limousin's bright little book, the "Guide du Joueur," published in 1899.

Not only did the casino remove from what is now the barracks to the present Government House, it also went down to the Condamine during the winter months, and occupied one of the rare dwellings that existed amid the violets grown for Rimmel's perfumery. This was the Villa Belle-Vue, which the casino christened Palais de la Condamine. It still exists, just off the rue Grimaldi, with its back against the railway line and not far from the gorge of St Dévote. But more ambitious projects were entertained. If the casino was to be a success, new buildings would have to be constructed, and above all hotels and villas must be built where the visitors, if anything ever induced them to come, might find comfortable accommodation. There were the Spélugnes, arid rocks (so named from the word *spelunca*, cavern) con-

taining caves which were supposed to have served as sepulchres in times gone by. The end of these barren rocks is washed by the sea. It was a good place to find sea-urchins, mussels and other shell-fish of delicate flavour. In 1828, Carlo Alberto, King of Sardinia and Piedmont, father of Victor-Emmanuel, the first King of United Italy, lent a number of convicts to the Prince of Monaco in order that they might build the road from Monaco to Menton, stipulating that the prince should feed them while they were at work. The Count de Rey was then proprietor of the Spélugnes, a bare and worthless property, and he had an ingenious idea. When the road to Menton was finished, he obtained leave, in his turn, to employ the convicts. Under his direction they gathered earth wherever earth could be gathered, and deposited it upon the bare rocks of the promontory of the Spélugnes. As soon as he had thus secured enough earth, the count planted vines, fig, orange and lemon trees. By 1835 land was bearing a plentiful harvest of fruit. To-day, if the gardens at Monte Carlo are so beautiful, a grateful thought might perhaps be spared for those poor convicts who rendered this possible by laboriously carrying the fertile earth up to the summit of the barren rocks.

Now the directors of the casino cast longing eyes on this spot, perhaps because of its beautiful situation, but more probably because the land brought up by the convicts had not, in spite of the lemon-trees, acquired any great value. In the Condamine, where the flowers were grown for a celebrated perfumery, it would cost much more to buy building sites. Besides, the Count de Rey was willing to sell. Thus it came about that on the 13th of May 1858 the foundation stone of the Monte Carlo casino was laid, though in those days this name had not yet been chosen. Prince Charles, not discouraged by the previous failures, sent his son and heir, only ten years old, to lay the foundation stone. It appears, according to the records, that it was raining most violently all the time, but the young prince acquitted himself of his functions

so well that it was proposed to call the new casino the *Elysée Alberto.*

Messieurs Lefèvre, Griois and Jagot, who had succeeded M. Daval as proprietors of the casino concession, secured the collaboration of M. Godineau de la Bretonnerie, an architect of recognised merit. But there were many difficulties in store. The very next year came the war that ended at Solferino. Italy and France were fighting Austria, and on the 18th of January 1895 the Sardinian steamer *Malfatano* arrived at Monaco to embark the Piedmontese garrison. These troops were now needed at Turin in view of the approaching war. Freed from this restraint, plots and counter-plots prospered in the principality. In the meanwhile, the building of the casino was turning out ill. As the walls rose from their rocky foundation the rock itself began to give way. The architect reported, however, that the foundations were sound enough but that bad building materials had been employed. A fierce quarrel ensued, and the architect, utterly disgusted, packed his trunks and left not only Monaco but Europe. It is said he went to Abyssinia, where he became a cabinet minister in the government of King Theodorus. All these difficulties and the threatened war did not help on the casino business, and there was much trouble in finding money to pay the workmen engaged on the new building. The fact that the workmen were now clamouring for their wages was skilfully utilised to suggest an attack on Monaco, with the prospect of pillaging the palace and of proclaiming the revolution, though it is not quite clear for what purpose a revolution was to be effected. Doubtless different leaders had different programmes.

On the 6th of February 1859 an armed mob was perceived marching upon the town. But the National Guards were quickly assembled. The gates of the old town were closed and cannon brought to bear upon the approaches. When they were near enough, the prince's aide-de-camp, Viscount Grandsaigne, with some armed followers, sallied forth to meet the mob. But the latter, who had

hoped to surprise the town, at once lost heart and threw down their arms. About fifty would-be rebels were arrested, and the leaders condemned to terms of imprisonment varying from six months to two years; but they were all liberated by the prince before the conclusion of their sentences. Such disturbances naturally helped to retard the construction of the casino. It was not till the month of May 1862 that the new building on the promontory of the Spélugnes was at last inaugurated. It was but a modest structure, something like a rather large villa. Such as it was, it stood almost alone. Free gifts of land had been offered to those who would undertake to build some sort of dwelling on the sites; not a single person accepted the offer. Thus fifty-two years ago land at Monte Carlo was to be had for nothing, and to-day it is as valuable as if situated in a central part of Paris or London. Yet just at the time when people were asked to accept this land as a gift the railway from Marseilles, then in course of construction, had already reached Cagnes, which is only a few miles on the other side of Nice. Notwithstanding this approach of the railway, no one seems to have foreseen the great effect that it would have on the prosperity of the principality.

It was the difficulty of communication that killed all the enterprises attempted. There was no direct road from Nice. The Corniche road, though very picturesque, was very long and circuitous. It was only in the year 1860 that an approximatively regular service by sea was established. An old ramshackle steamer called the *Palmaria* went from Nice to Monaco and back every day, "weather permitting." It took two hours to travel fifteen miles, and the *Palmaria* never ventured out at all if the sea looked unfavourable. As for punctuality, the captain was always willing to wait if there was a chance of securing an extra passenger, and it was quite a common thing to see people come running down to the Condamine waving their handkerchiefs and shouting to the steamer to wait for them. After a year or two the *Palmaria* was withdrawn

MONTE CARLO AND MONACO FROM THE MENTONE ROAD

and replaced by a more seaworthy boat christened, for the occasion, the *Charles III.* This ship could actually accommodate, with some semblance of comfort, sixty passengers, and it was just as well that it did not take more. At the Spélugnes there were but two modest hotels and restaurants—the Hôtel de Paris, parent of the present palatial and costly resort, and the Hotel d'Angleterre, which occupied the site of the modern Monte Carlo post office. The Hôtel de Paris was run by the casino administration, and soon became the Providence of unfortunate players. Over and over again those who had lost went to the Hôtel de Paris, dined first, and then confessed they had no money. Nothing much was said ; the bill was placed in a well-filled drawer to be ultimately entered in the profit and loss account.

All this time, it cannot be said that the casino had been of much political use. It had brought no great prosperity. There was, at any rate, not enough improvement to induce the communes of Menton and Roquebrune to abandon their rebellious attitude towards the Prince of Monaco. Therefore when, after the war of 1859, Nice and Savoy were handed over to France, the two communes, as we have seen, voted in favour of being included in this annexation. Thus the policy of sanctioning the establishment of a casino failed in its main purpose ; it did not save the principality from dismemberment. Nevertheless the time was now approaching when it would bring the long-anticipated and oft-deferred prosperity, and this to an extent that has exceeded the wildest dreams.

Towards the end of the year 1862, M. François Blanc happened to be in Paris, and M. Lefebvre, then manager of the casino, asked one of his friends to sound him with a view to his purchasing the Monaco concession. M. Blanc was very guarded in his answer, saying that he would make inquiries and consider the matter. What ensued was originally related by M. Marie de Saint-Germain, a poet who, since 1860, came during the winter to Monaco

for the sake of his health. His brief description of the all-important transaction has been repeated by almost every person who has written on the subject. The fact is that the old story cannot be avoided, as everyone wants to know in detail how M. François Blanc became the possessor of the casino. It was on the 31st of March 1863 that M. Blanc, having finally made up his mind, called on M. Lefebvre at his office. Then, as M. Marie de Saint-Germain tells us, M. Blanc said:

"You want to sell your concession and I am willing to buy it. Now think the matter over. I will come back at three o'clock for I must catch the steamer that leaves at four o'clock and I want the affair to be settled before I return to Nice."

The price agreed upon was £68,000, to be paid in three drafts on the Bank of France. M. de Pagau, the Secretary-General of the Government, was hastily called upon to submit the proposal to Charles III.; and, as M. François Blanc's reputation had travelled before him, everyone was eager to conclude the bargain. M. Blanc was not delayed; he caught his steamer and returned in good time to Nice, everything having been satisfactorily settled.

On the 1st of April 1863 M. Blanc formed the company known as *La Société anonyme des Bains de Mer et du Cercle des Etrangers à Monaco.* Thus, in the very title of the company, it is particularly specified that the casino is to be a club for foreigners and not for the public in general. The concession was to last fifty years, the capital was to consist of £600,000 divided into 30,000 shares of £20 each. So widespread was the reputation M. Blanc had acquired by reason of his successful management of the Homburg casino that there was a great demand for the shares. Many very illustrious persons were anxious to place their money in M. Blanc's keeping, and to share the profits he was likely to make. Though some of them were by profession teachers of morality they do not seem to have taken any special trouble to ascertain whether roulette might be considered a reforming influence.

The first Casino at Monte Carlo: Northern aspect in the "sixties"

Among the first to purchase casino shares was the cardinal who afterwards became Pope Leo XIII.

It was not till the 1st of June 1866 that Prince Charles issued an ordinance dividing his principality once again into three towns. Instead of Monaco, Roquebrune and Menton, as formerly, there would be Monaco, the Condamine and Monte Carlo. The district from the valley of St Dévote right over the hill and promontory of the Spélugnes to the eastern end of the principality and the road called Franciosi was henceforth to be called Monte Carlo. M. Blanc, it is true, was still busy at Homburg, but it was nevertheless clear that when the railway reached the principality, there now being no lack of capital to develop its resources, a great and rapid growth would take place. Rural districts would become urban districts, and the two new communes would have a sufficient population to justify their existence as communes.

The first casino built by M. Godineau de la Bretonnerie for M. Daval and his successors occupied the site and was scarcely larger than what is now known as the atrium. The vestibule in front of the atrium did not then exist. This was built many years later. In the plan of the casino I have endeavoured, by adding dates to the different sections, to give the history of the growth of the casino at a glance. The date 1861 occurs twice, and is placed where in the first casino two extremities were walled off. The central portion, now called the atrium, contained the old concert and ball room ; at one end were the roulette-tables and at the other the smoking and reading rooms. The accompanying illustration of the north side of the casino in the early sixties shows that it was but a modest building, standing in the midst of a scene of desolation, newly made roads bordering flower-beds where nothing had had time to grow. It was not till 1872 that an important addition was made to the casino. This was called the Moorish Room, and was the work of the architect, M. Dutrou. It was considered very original and attractive at the time,

and was so large that there was ample room for five roulette or *trente-et-quarante* tables. To-day, however, it has been much altered and redecorated. All trace of Moorish art has disappeared, and it is now known as the Salle Schmit.

When the *Salle Mauresque* was built the casino terraces were also constructed, and preceded the building of the opera or theatre, thus providing a suitable site for that great monument. Another illustration will give some idea of the aspect of the casino on its south side, that which overlooks the sea. The photograph was taken at a later period, when some of the plants had grown. On one side of the original building, to the right of the picture, can be seen a small portion of M. Dutrou's new gaming-room, the *Salle Mauresque*. The photograph, therefore, was taken after 1872 but before 1878.

The Casino up to 1878: Southern aspect, facing the sea

CHAPTER V

CHARLES GARNIER AND THE MONTE CARLO THEATRE

UP to 1878 the casino had no theatre; only a concert-room or festival hall, which measured no more than 100 feet in length and 40 feet in width. Nor was this hall lofty; the ceiling was but 26 feet from the floor. Here M. Roméo Accursi, who conducted the band during the summer season at the casino of Vichy, organised the concerts given during the Monte Carlo winter season. Ultimately his orchestra numbered some seventy performers, and even in those early days they were all excellent musicians. In the evening this concert hall was often converted into a ballroom. On other occasions a few actors and actresses, notably from the Palais Royal Theatre, and Madame Judic from the Théâtre des Variétés, Paris, came down and performed some of their best parts. This helped to accentuate the need of a theatre. At Baden-Baden, under the rule of the great Benazet, the same thing had happened. First there were concerts; then it became necessary to build a theatre. Here, from 1866 up to the war of 1870, some of the most popular plays were performed by the best actors. This was not sufficient. Soon the theatre of the Baden-Baden casino acquired such a high reputation that original plays were written expressly to be produced for the first time on its boards.

Monsieur François Blanc could not rest satisfied with a small concert-room; besides, as audiences increased, people began to grumble. The railway to Monaco was opened in 1868. One year after the war, in 1872, the number of passengers booking to Monaco was 160,949.

By 1875, only three years later, the number rose to 215,017. Something had to be done, and this on a large scale; but in July 1877 death overtook M. François Blanc before anything definite had been decided upon. Madame Blanc, however, who had been her husband's good genius on more than one occasion, was well qualified to preserve the spirit of enterprise and the generous traditions which distinguished M. François Blanc's administration. The determination to build a theatre was upheld, and it was further resolved that the casino itself should be greatly embellished. The little concert-room was comfortable enough, but absolutely devoid of any architectural pretensions, and the casino, in spite of the Moorish decorations of its new gaming-room, was quite an ordinary, commonplace building.

To decide upon building is an easy matter, particularly when there is enough money in hand to carry out such a resolution. It is not so easy to determine the style of the building and to secure the services of a competent architect. Obviously it would be advantageous to have something original; something that would make people talk and cause disputes between different schools of art. Controversies of this description had just taken place over the new Grand Opera at Paris, more especially about the sculpture on the exterior; notably Carpeaux's group representing "La Danse." It may be remembered that one indignant critic threw a bottle of ink at the nude figures, and of course this outrage greatly enhanced the popularity of the sculptor and of his work. Now it so happened that M. François Blanc had indirectly been of great service to M. Charles Garnier, the architect of the Grand Opera. The building was planned and the greater part constructed during the latter days of the Second Empire, but the war and the Revolution came before the work was finished. After the calamitous results of the war, the Government was more concerned in reconstituting the French nation than in completing the opera house. Yet if this and other similar public works could be carried forward with borrowed

The Monte Carlo Casino: Ball and Concert Room before 1878

money the Government would gladly give its assent. The nation was so heavily burdened with war taxes that it could not afford to do more than pay interest on loans raised for such purposes. A law was enacted, that bears date of the 24th March 1874, authorising the Ministry of Public Works to borrow from financial societies or from private individuals the money necessary to complete the building and decoration of the Grand Opera. Thereupon M. François Blanc came forward and offered to lend the necessary money. A decree was issued, dated 10th May 1874, signed by Marshal Mac-Mahon as President of the Republic, and by M. R. de Larcy as Minister of Public Works, accepting from M. François Blanc a loan, at 6 per cent. interest, of 4,900,000 francs (£196,000) to be spent in the completion of the new Grand Opera.[1]

From the very first M. François Blanc felt that the possession of wealth entailed great responsibilities and duties which were not to be met by the occasional despatch of a cheque to some charitable institution. Wealth must be invested in such a manner as to render service, and it may well be claimed that the whole world has benefited by the completion of the Paris Grand Opera. It is only necessary to go to one of the performances to see that

[1] This is the actual text of the decree :

"Le Conseil d'Etat entendu ;

"Décrète

"Article 1er.—Est et demeure approuvée l'adjudication passée, le 28 Avril 1874, par le Ministre des Travaux Publics pour l'exécution de la loi du, 24 Mars 1874, relative à l'achèvement du nouvel Opera.

"En conséquence est acceptée définitivement l'offre faite par le sieur *Blanc François* d'avances à l'Etat la somme de 4,900,000 francs au taux de 6 per cent. et aux conditions énoncees tant dans la dite loi que dans l'arrêté sus-visé.

"Article 2.—Le Ministre des Travaux Publics est chargé de l'exécution du present décret.

"Fait à Paris, le 10 Mai 1874.

"*Maréchal de* Mac-Mahon,
"Duc de Majenta.

"Par le Président de la République,
"Le Ministre des Travaux Publics,
"R. de Larcy."

there are almost as many foreign as French spectators. Whatever may be said of the performances, there can be no doubt that the building is one of the most magnificent and original edifices ever constructed for theatrical purposes. The architect was given a free hand, and of this permission he made the fullest use. Though going yearly to Italy to seek inspiration amid the masterpieces of ancient architecture and of the Renaissance, M. Charles Garnier conceived a style of his own. He has a theory and a reason for every detail, and it has taken him twenty-five years of unremitting labour to create this school. It is a mixture of display, extravagant display, and of realism. Thus the Grand Opera viewed from the outside shows in a realistic manner what is contained within. The monumental staircase, which reaches only the first floor, and the crush-room situated on that floor, are both in the front, and this is the lowest part of the building. But the dome over the auditorium, and the loftier roof over the stage enable those who are outside and at a sufficient distance to distinguish which are the different parts of the house. The decorations inside, however, were more generally criticised. To-day people are better accustomed to the style, and time has toned down its glaring effects. The unlimited gilding on the somewhat wild and extravagant designs no longer shines so brightly. Still, whatever fault may be found with the style of decoration, it faithfully represented the genius of the time. It was brilliant and garish, as were the latter days of the Second Empire. All was pomp and ostentation. There was nothing severe or classical about it, and it needed no special cultivation of the eye or the mind to appreciate its magnificence. Still it is only fair to say that Napoleon III. insisted that the new Hôtel-Dieu should be finished before the new opera. When inaugurating this immense hospital, the emperor made some allusion to the fact, saying that we must first provide an asylum for the relief of pain before we build a palace of pleasure.

If ever an architect wrote history, then by building in

Paris itself the new opera, Charles Garnier related in letters of stone the history not only of the apotheosis of the Second Empire, but also of its decline and fall. The Paris Grand Opera remains a monument of great historical interest. The style, especially with regard to decoration, is not, it may be hoped, appropriate to the French nation and its great political and intellectual capital, but it accurately records the short period of shallow frivolity into which the people lapsed after more than a century of heroic endeavour.

If the style of decoration introduced at the new opera fails to suggest the generous initiative of the Paris of the Great Revolution; if it does not recall the commercial Marais and the industrious faubourgs with their teeming population of tradesmen and highly skilled artisans; nor yet the Paris of the Latin Quarter, with its world-famed university, its men of science and of genius, its writers, statesmen and philosophers, still, it reflects accurately enough the love of extravagant show that can be appreciated easily, without intellectual effort, by the cosmopolitan crowd of pleasure-seekers who have peopled a town of their own within the Paris of the true Parisian. Now it so happened that while M. François Blanc lent the money required to finish the Paris opera house, cosmopolitan Paris—which, be it always borne in mind, Parisians energetically repudiate — was beginning to acquire the habit, during the winter, of occasionally seeking pleasure and sunshine at Monte Carlo. What could be more natural than that the architect of the Paris Grand Opera should be consulted with regard to the proposed Grand Theatre at Monte Carlo? M. Charles Garnier had publicly expressed his gratitude to M. François Blanc for having rendered the completion of the Paris opera possible. If M. Garnier's style was, perhaps, as indicated above, not sufficiently severe, classic and serious for a great and historic capital such as Paris, it was, on the contrary, admirably suited to Monte Carlo. Monaco, with its austere battlements, with its ancient history,

might with reason have objected to Charles Garnier and all his works; but Monte Carlo, with no history whatsoever, built on an uninhabited promontory, and only seeking to attract wealthy idlers from every part of the world, was the very place of all others where his style and genius would be most appreciated.

M. Charles Garnier readily consented. At the end of April 1878 he was able to submit his designs to Madame Blanc; they were accepted, and then a wonderful work was accomplished. By the end of October the building was completed and handed over to the decorators, sculptors and painters. This was no ordinary task, and it was necessary to work day and night without a moment's respite. A plan also had to be devised to secure equal comfort and an equally good view for all the seats in the theatre. In short, there were to be only orchestra stalls, a special box for the prince, and six other boxes. No idea was entertained of charging for admittance, and it was thought that as all the seats were gratuitous they should all be equally good. The theatre must be easily accessible from within the casino and from without. For concerts in the afternoon there must be daylight, for evening performances there must be gas, as electricity was not yet available. Builders of theatres usually do not contemplate the possibility of daylight representations. In London and elsewhere what feeble light may be admitted by the windows is excluded, and artificial light employed during even matinée performances. At Monte Carlo, on the contrary, the windows are so large and lofty that a daylight concert can easily be given. Indeed, there is often too much light, and yellow blinds as large as the sail of a ship have to be lowered to soften the glare of the southern sun.

An enormous army of workers, artisans and artists, had to be brought down. Some portions of the old building were promptly demolished. Holes were blown in the rock with dynamite as the quickest way of digging for deeper foundations. Lofty scaffolding rose from the ground,

THE GARNIER THEATRE: VIEW FROM THE STAGE

engines snorted and puffed, lifting the stones, that had for the most part come all the way from Arles. As it was warm weather, the concerts were given in the open air, and served to cheer the workmen as well as to entertain the visitors. It was a strange scene, the illuminations for the concert mingled with the flaring torches of the building works; the notes of the musical instruments combined with the sounds of the engines and the hammers. The idlers and the workers were side by side, each with artificial light striving to convert night into day. It is to be hoped that the gamblers were well satisfied when they saw how the money they had lost was giving useful employment to a great concourse of workmen. In six months the bold outline of the theatre, with its two graceful towers which have become the principal landmark of Monte Carlo, could be seen through a maze of scaffolding.

In designing a building, and particularly its frontage, the effect will be either gay or sombre according to the number of windows, doors, arcades, columns—that is to say, of breaks in the dull severity of the walls. The greater the facilities of entry, the more hospitable the building appears. Its inhabitants evidently do not wish to wall themselves off from the world, and it is easy to imagine that there must be plenty of light and gaiety within. This is precisely the effect realised by the frontage of the Monte Carlo theatre. Three lofty windows that are more like arcades, for they consist of columns upholding arches, fill the centre of the façade. They convey the idea that their purpose must be to illuminate some vast and splendid hall. Immediately above, like a jewelled belt around the building, runs a broad frieze in mosaic. It is the work of M. Facchina, of Venice. This mosaic, and the use of the Monaco art pottery-ware, constitute a polychrome decoration rarely seen outside buildings in northern latitudes, but very popular in Italy, and well suited to the climate of Monte Carlo. The design of the mosaic (head representing "Comedy" and "Tragedy") is not original, but its

effect is very bright and pleasing. The little cubes of gold seem to catch fire in the sunlight, and how deep and luminous are the sapphire blues, purples and violets; how delicate and translucent the lilac, the turquoise and the emerald-green. Aided by distance, and by the brilliant sunshine, these little coloured cubes seem veritable precious stones.

The boldest innovation, in which Garnier outstepped anything he had done before, was the construction of the two lofty towers. What could be the use of these square turrets? As steeples of a church or minarets of a mosque they might serve a purpose. If comedy and music *are* worthy to be heard in a temple, there was no connection intended between the theatre of the Monte Carlo casino and a church of any denomination whatsoever. Why then have steeples? The answer is simple. Every tall, narrow building is not a steeple. A lighthouse is not a steeple. The towers of the theatre have a small dome, large windows, a lantern above the dome, but no place for hanging bells. There is, however, a balcony, from whence a magnificent view can be obtained. Here is the object, here is the purpose—that of seeing, and above all of being seen at a distance. Far out at sea, from the ships as they pass, sailors and passengers cannot fail to recognise the frontage of the Monte Carlo casino, with its broad terraces; and rising high above them the bold façade and lofty towers of Charles Garnier's *chef-d'œuvre*. Two or three strokes of pencil or pen from an artist's hand will render the outline of these two towers and the great domed roof of the theatre between them. This is sufficient. Monte Carlo is at once recognised. Just as the Westminster clock tower suggests London; the tower of St Angelo, Rome; the towers of Notre-Dame, Paris; so, in an equally unmistakable manner, do the towers of Charles Garnier's theatre proclaim Monte Carlo. To build towers to a theatre was doubtless a very unorthodox eccentricity, but it has served a very useful purpose. Then, after all, no one can say they are not graceful; all must

East View of the Garnier Theatre: facing Sarah Bernhardt's Statue of Song

acknowledge that they harmonise admirably with the rest of the building and greatly enhance its general monumental effect.

The three bull's-eye apertures above the frieze are more susceptible of criticism. They are somewhat heavy, and there are too many shields, lyres, masks, employed as decorative motives; but this is the inherent fault of the Garnier style; it is overdone. It is in the general design of a building, rather than in the detail of its ornamentation, that Garnier excels. Nowhere is this more evident than within the theatre itself. The effect on those who enter the auditorium for the first time must be most startling. There is gold, gold, and yet more gold. Friezes and garlands, frescoes, shields, embossed work, such a crush and a crowd of gilded ornamentation, that the mind fails to grasp what it all means. However, in time, the eye discerns in the vaulted roof Boulanger's "Music," Lix's "Comedy," Feyen-Perrin's "Song," and Clairin's "Dance." The first of these pictures is classical, the second mythological, the third inspires reverence, but Clairin's "Dance" reflects the real spirit of a casino, and suggests a moment of reckless enjoyment. Between these pictures, as if supporting the vaulted roof on their backs, are four giant figures of "Renown" in bronze and gold, by the sculptor, J. Thomas. They are powerful young women, physically capable of upholding the celestial vault spread above them, and they seem to perform this function quite seriously. Immediately below them are two young lads with no clothes, not even a little gilding, uncomfortably seated on a narrow ledge, looking as if they had come out of a swimming-bath. There is nothing ideal about them; their hands and feet especially are absolutely realistic. No one has been able to explain why these boys are perched up there; but presumably they know the secret, since they look quite happy. They do not seem to be in the least troubled about the public, towards whom they turn the soles of their feet. Their want of clothes may be excused on the ground that they are high enough up to

be among the gods, but why such a regrettable lack of manners?

Above the naked boys, between the draped and golden figures of "Renown," are rows of elaborately decorated bull's-eye windows, the design culminating at the summit in a head. These heads, moulded by M. Chabaud, symbolise various orders of music—pastoral, martial, hunting, dance music, etc., etc.

The theatre is longer than it is broad. Opposite the stage is situated a gallery containing the prince's box. This is the west end, and here there is a magnificent door opening at the angle made by the road and the terraces. The door is seldom, if ever, used by the public, being reserved as a private entrance to the prince's box. No one can pass it without admiring the two superb Nubian slaves which are sheltered under the doorway, and serve as candelabras, each holding crystal crescents above their heads. They are among the finest specimens of M. Chabaud's work as a sculptor. Above the entrance is a small balcony which can be reached from the prince's box and where fresh air may be enjoyed between the acts. It contains an original and graphic statue of "Industry," by M. Cordier. A hardy woman of the people, with herculean muscles, rests her vigorous arms on her hammer with an air of proud confidence. She feels that all the world depends on her efforts. Her clothing is simple—merely a skin apron. The companion statue is an idealistic and dreamy conception of sculpture, by M. Godebski. Close by, the angles of the masonry are ornamented with two statues of "Music" and "Dance," by M. Cordier. The usual entrance to the theatre is from the atrium; the central door is flanked by two caryatides in Florentine bronze. One of these—"Music"—is the work of M. Bayard de la Vingeterie; the other—"Literature"—is by M. Aizelin. Some of Jean Goujon's decoration of the Hotel Carnavalet in Paris has been imitated in the design of the group which protects the arms of Monaco above this door. M. Mathieu was the sculptor.

West View of the Garnier Theatre: facing Gustave Doré's Statue of Dance

The peculiar feature of the construction of the Monte Carlo theatre is that though the whole scheme and design are the outcome of M. Charles Garnier's genius, he called in a great number of collaborators and, entrusting to each some detail, gave him full freedom to deal with it according to his fancy. But even more remarkable than this was the strange idea of setting artists to work at an art other than their own. Thus he insisted that the great tragedian, Sarah Bernhardt, should be responsible for a statue representing "Song"; and that the celebrated painter, Gustave Doré, should contribute as a pendant another statue representing "The Dance." There was almost as much talk about this as about the towers. Why put spires or minarets to a theatre? Why give an actress and a painter sculpture to do, when there were so many properly qualified sculptors only too eager to undertake such a task? In all the studios, in artistic circles, among all the art critics, endless discussions ensued. On the higher terrace, in niches under the two towers that have caused such widespread debate, are to be found the statues that were also so much discussed. Nor were these amateur sculptors content with one statue. Gustave Doré has placed at the foot of "The Dance" a cupid, with dimpled and well-rounded limbs, duly armed with his fatal bow and arrow. Sarah Bernhardt's winged songstress did not satisfy her; she added a young girl sitting at the feet of the singer. Those not versed in the technique of the art see nothing to criticise in either of the statues, but much has been said against the left leg of Sarah Bernhardt's young girl. Much exception, too, has been taken to the arrangement of the drapery, which is fastened up on the shoulders with something of a butterfly effect, *à la Japonaise.*

But criticism is easy, and, admitting that better statues could have been obtained, they would never be half so interesting. The fact that these statues were contributed by great artistic celebrities, but celebrities who were not sculptors, cannot fail to excite universal

curiosity. Thus it comes to pass that everyone who goes to Monte Carlo makes a point of discovering the whereabouts of the statues by Sarah Bernhardt and Gustave Doré. Unfortunately, they have been ill-treated by time and weather. Finished hurriedly, to be ready for the opening of the new theatre, they could only be moulded in clay and cast in plaster. There are no ironworks at Monaco to cast statues in bronze, nor was it possible to carve them in marble. The statues, therefore, are in plaster. To preserve them, they have been painted over; but the sun has cracked and blistered the paint, and some of it is peeling off. "Song" and "Dance" seem both to be suffering from a severe attack of eczema.

The building, we have seen, was begun in April 1878, and handed over to the decorators and upholsterers in October. By the commencement of the following year it was completed, and the solemn inauguration took place on the 25th of January 1879. Needless to say, this was a brilliant ceremony. Even the artistic design of the programme was quite in the Charles Garnier style, including the two towers, the subject of so much controversy, and the two naked boys who persist in showing the soles of their feet. But this time they were usefully employed blowing long trumpets, and if uncomfortably seated, they were provided with wings so that they could fly away. It was at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th of January that M. Roméo Accursi and his orchestra first entered the new theatre. The place was still encumbered by ladders, ropes, pieces of sculpture and ornamentation. Charles Garnier and his family, all the directors of the casino, young architects, artists, newspaper reporters, great theatrical or operatic celebrities were there to rehearse for the morrow's opening performance. The celebrated tenor, Capoul, was the first to clamber on the stage, where he strutted about with evident satisfaction, Madame Miolan-Carvalho sang to an accompaniment of hammers driving in nails. Other women now came forward; they had not melodious voices, but they had strong arms, and

The Garnier Theatre and the Terraces

big pails and mops and brushes. It was their business to see that the theatre should be thoroughly clean for the opening day, and the musicians who wanted to rehearse felt, in spite of their European reputations, that at such a moment they were merely secondary personages.

By the evening of the 25th everything was ready. Prince Charles III. entered the regal box for the first time. The six hundred orchestra stalls were occupied by celebrities of literature, art, the press and society. The Marseillais poet, J. Aicard, had written a prologue, which was recited by Sarah Bernhardt. The poem told of a sleeping beauty who reposed in one of the caves under the hill of Monte Carlo. All the noise of the exploding mines and of the seven months of labour in building the theatre had failed to rouse her. But now comes M. Roméo Accursi with his admirable orchestra; the melodious sound awakens the beautiful nymph after a sleep of centuries. She had seen the paintings of Polygnotus and Apelles, the statues of Phidias and Praxiteles, the great temples of antiquity, and now she opens her eyes to witness a resuscitation of the arts and to bring green palms "to the builder of the marvellous palace." "Artists," she exclaims, "I have gathered palms to crown your heads. Blessed be you all! you who have awakened the gods!"

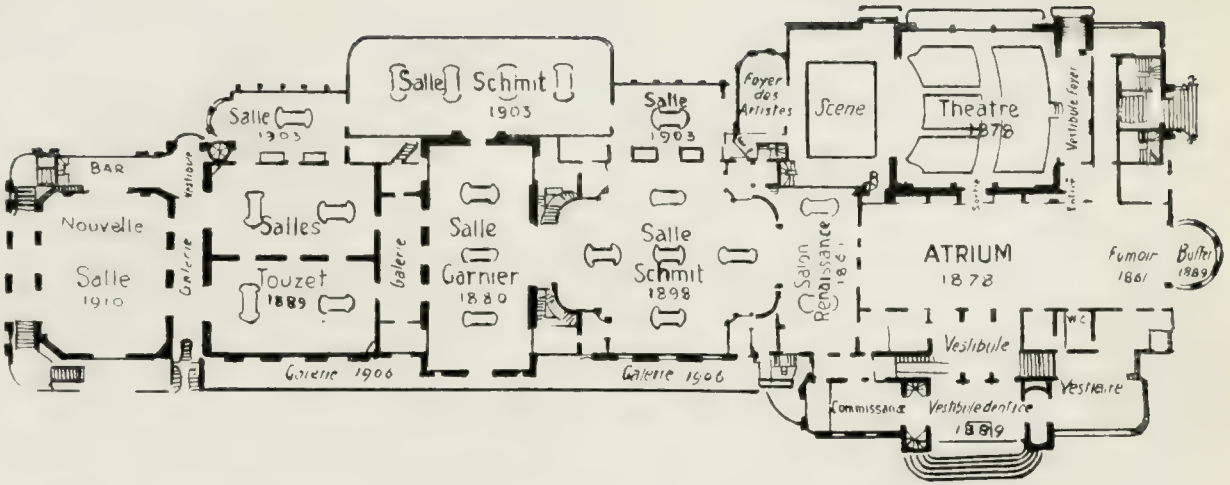
At these words the whole audience rose and turned towards Charles Garnier, who with his family occupied a box at the far end of the theatre. A great ovation ensued. Garnier was summoned to the prince's box, and the Cross of Commander of the Order of Saint Charles was suspended by its ribbon round the neck of the illustrious architect. This was done, on behalf of Prince Charles III., by her Royal Highness the Duchess Florestine d'Urach-Würtemberg. The same evening Mesdames Miolan Carvalho and Judic, and Messieurs Diaz de Soriae and Capoul sang. It will be seen that from the very first there appeared on the stage of Monte Carlo some of the most celebrated singers, actors and artists of Europe.

CHAPTER VI

PHENOMENAL EXPANSION OF THE CASINO

IT may be said that the building of the Garnier Theatre was the climax which decided the fortunes of the casino. No money was spared, and many ingenious devices were adopted to ensure that the utmost publicity should be given to the affair. This accomplished, success was assured, and has now assumed such proportions as to threaten embarrassment by its very completeness. At first it was said that the theatre was too large for the casino: now it was found that the casino was too small for the theatre and for the public it attracted. While Garnier was startling the world by the original structure of his theatre, the architect Dutrou, who six years before had added the Salle Mauresque to the old casino, knocked the central part of this elementary structure to pieces, and built the atrium in its stead. He also added a small vestibule in front of the old entrance. Before two years had expired, it was already evident that the Salle Renaissance and the Salle Mauresque—now called the Salle Schmit—with their seven roulette and *trente-et-quarante* tables, no longer sufficed. Once more Charles Garnier was asked to lend the casino the lustre of his name and the aid of his genius. He consented; and in 1880 built the Salle Garnier. The chief original feature in this room is the subject of the paintings which decorate the walls. They consist of female figures representing the sports then popular. One of the finest of the pictures, illustrating croquet—a game that seems to-day to be almost forgotten—is by Clairin.

Now ensued a period of comparative inaction, which continued for nearly a decade. In 1889 the celebration of



Chronological Plan of the Casino

the centenary of the French Revolution was to take place. The Universal Exhibition in Paris would attract visitors from all parts of the world. The ridiculous attempt to boycott the hundredth anniversary of the downfall of the Bastille, with the régime of *lettres de cachet*, privilege and autocracy, was sure to fail. The fact that some monarchical governments refused to take part in the exhibition made the great mass of the people all the more eager to be present, and Monte Carlo was sure to feel the effect of this rush to Paris. In 1888 the number of tickets issued to travellers for the principality was 394,433 : the year of the celebration of the centenary of the French Revolution it was 503,397. The year following, 1890, when there was no celebration, the number fell to 403,082.

By the year 1889 the entrance vestibule of the casino had been much enlarged, giving more space for the cloak-room and offices, and yet another and a very beautiful gaming-room had been added. It is called the Salle Touzet, after its architect. The decorations are nearly as extravagant as if designed by Garnier; the paintings represent Folly, Fortune, Night and Morning. It is difficult to see whether any subtle moral is involved in the choice of such subjects; but in any case players are not often disposed to look at pictures. When once a person is absorbed in roulette or *trente-et-quarante*, the fine arts are lost upon him. But they are not lost on those who do not play, or who play rarely and only for small sums. Such persons do exist; they can be met even in the rooms devoted exclusively to play. Perhaps it is thought that some will frequent the rooms because of their beauty, not intending to play. If they do, it happens more often than not that they end by yielding to the temptation, and risk at least a small stake. For their sakes it is to be hoped that they will lose, for then they will be less tempted to renew the experiment.

When, after the building of the Salle Touzet, the demand for more room and still more room continued, it was determined that this time, instead of further

elongating the casino an attempt should be made to extend it laterally. In 1903 a large hall and two smaller ones were added on the south side, facing the sea. They are named after their architect, Schmit. It is in the large hall that the celebrated painting of the three Florentine Graces will be found. The ceilings of the two smaller rooms are also beautifully decorated. The subject of one of these paintings, by Galleli, is "Dreams." It is here reproduced.

In 1906 a gallery was built on the northern side, so as to give a little more room, and finally an extensive addition was made in 1910.

By that time great alteration in the social conditions of life at Monte Carlo had taken place, and the evolution in the building of the casino corresponded with the modern developments. We have seen that the number of passengers who booked for the principality amounted in 1889 to half-a-million; by 1902 they just exceeded a million, and in 1909 the number was 1,483,570. This of course meant a complete change in the social position and character of the majority of visitors. The democracy had permeated even Monte Carlo. Aristocrats and very distinguished personages still frequented the casino, but they were lost in the crowd. In the earlier days everything was free. To put a price on the seats at the concerts or other entertainments was contrary to all traditions. That some of the visitors played was sufficient for everyone to be welcomed and given free admittance. The magnificent theatre, with its wonderful display of decoration, was open once or twice a day to anyone who chose to enter. Here one of the best orchestras of Europe could be heard from 540 orchestra stalls, each as good and as comfortable as the other. There were no privileged seats and no privileged persons; no sifting of those who could afford to pay from those who could not. The casino made enough money to pay for all. But to-day it makes so very much more money that it is far less generous; such is the destructive effect of too much success.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that with the

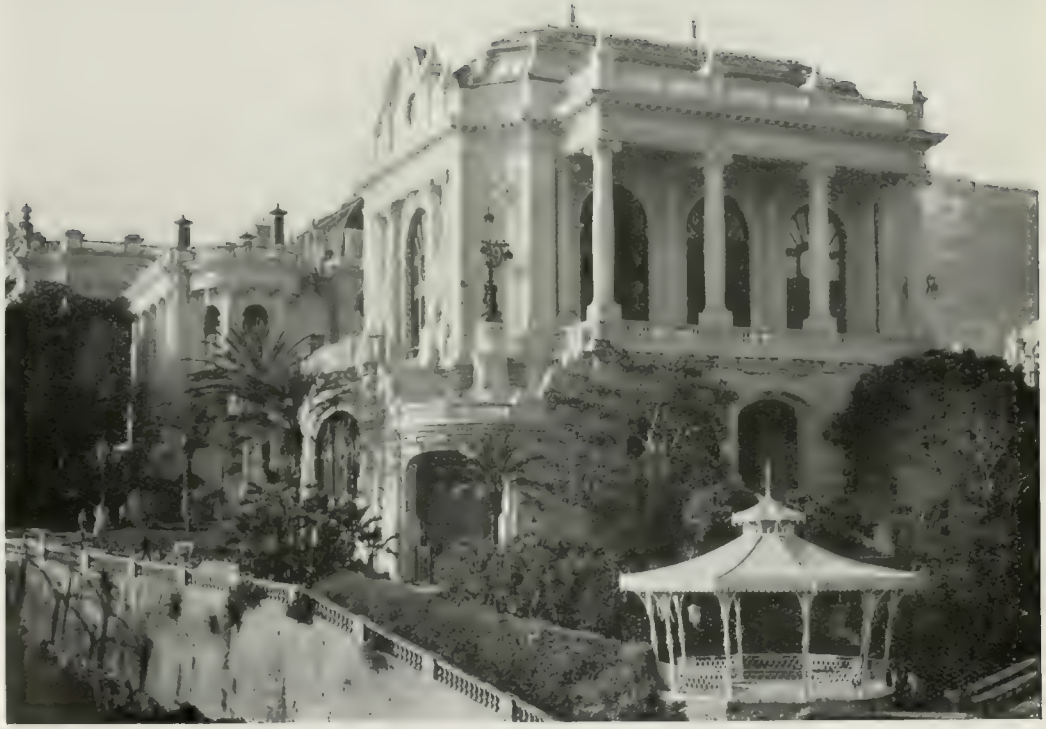
present crowd, if performances were gratuitous it is not a beautiful theatre, holding barely six hundred spectators, that would be required, but something more like a hippodrome. To-day, even though twenty francs a seat is charged for operatic performances and five francs for the classical concerts, other performances have to be organised elsewhere. The beautiful hothouses belonging to Madame Blanc, where horticultural rarities were cultivated with such success, have been pulled down to make room for the Palais des Beaux Arts. This edifice, close to the Hôtel de Paris, consists of a central hall 130 by 58 feet, with a vaulted glass roof which gives a good light for the exhibitions of painting and sculpture and the horticultural shows that are held here. At the end of the hall is a large platform, which is useful for meetings and various ceremonies. From the right side of this hall opens a smaller room, where some of the best pictures are usually hung at the annual "Salon"; and on the left a small theatre has been built for light plays and operettas and for lectures. The first Exhibition of Fine Arts took place in 1892, under the presidency of Jérome and Carolus Duran. Among some of the celebrated artists who have assisted at these annual exhibitions may be mentioned Alma-Tadema, Burne-Jones, Détaille, Bonnat, Bartholdi, Munkácsy, J. P. Laurens, Stevens, J. L. Stewart and Yon.

While thus building annexes outside its original premises, the casino still continued to expand on its first site. But the time had come for a radical change of policy. The happy equality of the early days could not be maintained with the huge crowds that now frequented the casino. A first attempt to discriminate was made by establishing, in a small room upstairs, what was called the *Cercle Privé*. The infatuation of players may be judged by the talk that arose when this select gaming-table was abolished. People said that it did not pay because it was frequented almost exclusively by experienced players, who risked only small sums and ceased playing as soon as

they had won something worth having. Obviously, if there are such wise players they can play in this manner in the public rooms as well as in a private room. Whether the bank wins less at one table or more at another does not in the least matter, so long as the average shows a good profit. The fact is that the *Cercle Privé* was abolished because the casino sought to divert the crowd by creating the Sporting Club. Here none is admitted unless he belongs to a good club in his own country and can show a receipt proving that he has paid his subscription. As a further attraction the game of baccarat is allowed at the Sporting Club, and there is also good music provided by a string band. This does serve to draw away some from the casino, and yet the crowd is still too great.

In further increasing the size of the casino, a new scheme was adopted. The casino had already extended eastward as far as it could go on level soil. It had reached the edge of the hill; another extension would necessitate building on the slope. This fact suggested that to keep the new hall level with its predecessors a basement must be constructed. Thus the size of the casino might be increased downward as well as laterally. Here a new casino, with new rules, would come into existence. The Salle Touzet would be withdrawn from the public and connected with the new saloon about to be built, and in the basement on the slope of the hill a small and select concert hall could be constructed. This would constitute the private part of the casino. In 1911 the charge for admission was £2 for the season; this was increased in 1912 to £4. The new wing of the casino was built by M. Médecin, and was completed in 1910.

The private portion of the casino is so large as to be sufficient by itself to form what would in most countries be considered a spacious casino. Apparently there will never be room enough or enough tables. The more the casino provides the more people come. Neither the imposition of a charge for admission nor the doubling of this charge has checked the increase of visitors. There



The Newest and Privatt Part of the Casino

are two reasons that make it worth while to pay for entrance to this private and privileged part of the casino: a scientific method of ventilation has been applied, and every day exquisite music is rendered by the string orchestra under the leadership of M. Louis Ganne. These concerts, sometimes given both in the afternoon and the evening, are perfect in their way, and enjoy the highest favour among those who are sufficiently educated in music to appreciate them. The concert-room is rather low, but carefully ventilated. The air inlets, disguised as sculptured bosses, may be seen in two corners of the oblong ceiling; an air-shaft runs round the room conveying a current of air to all parts, but too high up to cause any draughts. On the floor against the wall may be noted the thermo-automatic machines. A similar contrivance will be found in the gaming-rooms upstairs. Here, as the mercury of a thermometer rises or falls, it automatically opens or closes a valve. When the temperature has reached the desired point the valve is closed by the rising mercury, and this prevents the steam from entering the heat radiators. The satin and velvet seats, the curtains and carpets, are all crimson of a rich, bright tone, contrasting with the sober oak panelling and the orchestra platform. Round the edge of the blue-grey ceiling a few red and yellow flowers strike a note of gaiety without too much colour. The electric lights are masked with crystals that add to the general sense of glitter and brightness, in brilliant contrast to the sombre colouring of the hall. The effect is that of restfulness amid deep and vivid colour; but not so much rest as to become somnolence, so much richness as to become gaudiness, or so much brightness as to disturb the sense of repose necessary to the full enjoyment of refined music.

The Salle Touzet upstairs was built before the system of ventilation was introduced, therefore it does not act so well as in the last and more recent room, where architect and ventilating engineer worked together. Ever since the casino has existed, bitter complaints have been made con-

cerning the foulness of the atmosphere. It is true that the public is in this matter at once ignorant and unreasonable. Many persons imagine that heat is a proof of the absence of ventilation, others mistake draughts for ventilation. But few realise that true ventilation consists in changing the air imperceptibly and yet sufficiently to provide one cubic foot of air per person per second. On the other hand, if the air travels more than three feet per second, it will cause inconvenience, leading probably to the closing of the air inlets and the total destruction of the ventilating system. Therefore inlets have to be very large so that they may deliver the volume of air needed slowly and not occasion a draught, or else they must be far enough away for the air to be well diffused before it reaches those present. If the accompanying illustrations are examined it will be noticed that all round the glass roof of the Salle Touzet, and at the angle of the ceiling and the wall of the Salle Nouvelle, runs a band which may be taken to be part of the ornamentation. In reality it is perforated throughout and serves to admit air. Near the floor against the wall, brass gratings will be seen: these are the outlets leading to a shaft that goes up to the roof of the casino. The intake for air is on the terrace and faces the sea. The air does not merely pass over steam pipes that raise its temperature. It is drawn along by a Blackman revolving fan to the mixing room. Here the air is filtered, washed and moistened by passing first through a cloth and then through a fine spray of water. The fan can project forward 60,000 cubic metres of air per hour, and this is much more than is needed. Finally, there is a small room containing four ozonisers, where 10,000 volts at high tension can be produced. Each ozoniser can give half-a-milligramme of ozone per square metre (about 35 cubic feet) to 10,000 cubic metres per hour. After this the air goes to a heating-room. Unfortunately a great mistake has been made. The ventilating engineer does not seem to have realised the difference between the Monte Carlo climate and that of more northern latitudes. He declared

The Nouvelle Salle, or Salle Empire

that when it was freezing outside the temperature would be more than 50° Fahr. inside; but it does not freeze outside, and the result is that the temperature runs up to from 64° to 74° inside. Visitors are too warm, and complain that there is no ventilation. There is, on the contrary, ample ventilation. The passage, diffusion and ozonisation of the air is perfectly accomplished, but there is overheating. The heat radiators should be convertible into refrigerators. This will increase the cost considerably, but it will have to be done sooner or later; and the other parts of the casino will also have to be ventilated.

The new and last built hall or gaming-room is decorated in Empire style; indeed it is sometimes called *la Salle Empire*. Consequently the colours used are mainly green and gold. There is something severe, majestic and impressively handsome in these decorations. Designs in brass on a green wall have a very artistic effect, rich and durable. The ceiling is lofty, white predominating, except where paintings represent the four principal divisions of the day. There are fine lustres and ground-glass openings in the ceiling that give a soft light in the daytime. With its scientific ventilation, its lofty dimensions and artistic decorations, this, the last addition to the casino, is one of the most beautiful rooms ever built.

Three reproductions from photographs will give some idea of the new and private part of the casino, to which only subscribers are admitted. The outside view shows how this addition has been built on sloping ground, so that there is a basement containing the new small concert-room. The two other photographs show the interiors of the Salle Touzet and the Nouvelle Salle or Salle Empire. The chronological map indicates that a slight widening was effected in 1906 by the building of a gallery on the northern side, where a café and a lounge afford the players means of obtaining light refreshments without having to go outside.

In the additions of late years a new method of procedure has been adopted. The Benazet and François Blanc

traditions reached their apogee with the Garnier Theatre. Then nothing was spared. Money was no object. The maximum of talent and of publicity alone was desired; these secured, the money would come of its own accord. A little more or a little less perhaps—what did it matter? There would always be more than enough. It will be easily understood with what eagerness artists especially sought to serve such masters. The curse of all art is the oft-repeated injunction that the work must be done cheaply; Garnier, however, was allowed to employ the finest artists, the most skilful workmen, and to do everything in the best style. For Garnier everything was made in Paris. When, however, M. Schmit began to build, the iron rafters, for instance, were brought to Monaco in their crude state to be prepared and finished on the spot. M. Touzet took more than six months to build his part of the casino, because he had neither the resources nor the money given to Garnier. All was done much more cheaply. Efficient artists were employed, but no celebrities; there was no Garnier to commission Clairin for the paintings. The best known of the new school of artists recently engaged is M. Galleli. Though more lofty, the Garnier Theatre occupies much less ground than the structures built since that time—that is, since 1878. But the recent buildings have caused no sensation. They are beautiful, they answer their purpose; but they have not opened the floodgates of controversy, they have not advertised the casino, they had not the genius of a François Blanc behind them.

There is a phase of recent expansion that redeems the casino administration to some extent from the ridicule the title of their company did not fail to evoke. With amusing persistence they would insist on calling themselves the society for sea-baths—*Société anonyme des Bains de Mer et du Cercle des Étrangers*. It sounded so very innocent, though sea-baths might have been obtained without the tremendous business of forming a limited financial company, which is implied by the French

THE HYDROPATHIC ESTABLISHMENT: GALLERI'S PAINTING OF WATER

words *Société anonyme*. But the extraordinary part of this big business is that in spite of the huge capital readily subscribed the joint-stock company never after all managed to organise any sea-baths. There is a long, low building that skirts the extreme south-west corner of the port, and here there used to be some baths called les Thermes Valentia, for which the casino was responsible. But instead of bathing in the sea, the very few people who went there had to bathe in the port. Fourteen years ago, before the Shone ejectors were installed in this very corner, the sewage of the Condamine flowed into the port. The iron pipes which prolonged the sewers into the water could be seen close to the spot roped off for bathers to swim in. Now that the sewage, raised by the Shone ejectors, no longer contaminates the water, the port improvement works have brought a number of workmen on the spot, and there is an increase in the shipping. Therefore if to-day we have no sewage we have more ships; and at any rate to bathe in a port is not what is generally understood by sea-bathing. Many persons who persisted hired a boat and rowed out to sea to enjoy a swim. Some preferred the less heroic dip from the small beach at the *Bas-Moulin*. In either case they took their sea-bath quite independently of the great company which was floated nominally for the purpose of providing the means of bathing in the sea. With all the millions of money this company has possessed it has never in the whole course of its triumphant career, now covering half-a-century, been known to give a genuine sea-bath to any person whatsoever. That it has been instrumental in providing sea-water to put in a bathing-tub must be admitted, but what is understood by *Bains de Mer* is bathing in the open sea from a beach.

Though this is just possible in the Bay of Larvotto, the space is restricted. For various reasons sea-bathing is not popular in the principality. Besides, Monaco is, in the main, a winter resort and, even on the Mediterranean, there are not many people who care for bathing in the

open air during the winter. But now the casino has redeemed the promise the company's title implies by favouring at least some sort of bathing. It has built a thermal or hydropathic establishment of the highest class. As if to emphasise the fact that this is its work, the baths are on the casino premises, at the extreme end of the celebrated terraces. Their position is shown in the illustration here given, and it will be noted in what a handsome white stone building they have been housed. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the building has but one storey. It has two or three storeys, only instead of rising up they descend the side of the cliff to the sea below. This, however, causes a grave defect. Constructed as they are against the rock, the rooms afford no possibility of being thoroughly ventilated, for in the absence of mechanical processes no through draught can be obtained. This is all the more serious for carbonic acid gas and sulphuretted hydrogen escape into the atmosphere as the result of the hydropathic treatment of some of the patients. In all other respects the baths are well appointed and luxurious. Outside there is a fashionable bar, where strollers on the casino terraces may go to drink any of the most celebrated mineral waters ; these are all stocked here to gratify the cosmopolitan tastes of the numerous visitors. The chief feature of the entrance hall, and, from the point of view of art, of the whole building, is the large picture facing the door. This represents water, or rather the spirits of water, the undines, gambolling among the rocks and gliding down the rapids. It is painted by that artist of the new school to whom allusion has just been made, M. Galleli of Rome.

Inside, under the direction of Doctor Albert Konried, Imperial Councillor, almost every form of treatment can be obtained. Of course there are ordinary fresh-water and sea-water baths. There are all sorts of Turkish and vapour baths ; massage under water, partial or complete massage ; carbonic acid, electric light, hydro-electric baths ; treatment with electricity and X-rays. The Zander or medico-

The Hydropathic Establishment

mechanical methods are fully provided here. Skilled attendants are at the disposal of the patients, and a complete cure can be carried out with every comfort and luxury. Though this is not the promised sea-bathing, which after all is not particularly wanted, it is a great inducement to those who wish to combine hydropathic with climatic treatment.

CHAPTER VII

CASINO MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL

WE have seen how rapid was the expansion and how great the success of the casino. It now becomes necessary to explain how this vast enterprise has been conducted since its first success was assured by the skilful management of M. François Blanc and the extension of the railway to the principality. M. François Blanc died on the 27th July 1877, at Loueche, in the Valais, Switzerland, where he went for a little rest. He had then attained his seventy-first year, but his widow was much younger. Madame Blanc now became the principal shareholder, and, having actively assisted her husband in the management, remained at the head of affairs. We have seen that it was under her auspices that the Garnier casino was built and the best traditions of casino management faithfully maintained. Madame Blanc did not, however, long survive M. François Blanc, but died at Moutiers, in Savoy, on the 25th July 1881. By the 14th of December 1882 the Casino Company was reconstituted. The number of shares was doubled, raising the capital from £600,000 to £1,200,000, divided into 60,000 shares of £20. Of these the Blanc family held no fewer than 52,000. At the same time M. Camille Blanc, the eldest son of M. François Blanc, was appointed Chief Director of the company. As the success already achieved went on increasing with giant strides, it was felt that something must be done to prolong the concession. According to M. Charles Limousin, who seems to have been especially well informed in all that concerns the principality, a meeting of shareholders

"Dreams," by Galleri, ceiling of the small room by the second Salle Schmit

was held on the 11th of January 1898, and agreed to terms which were signed on the 16th of January by his Excellency, M. Ritt, Governor-General of the principality, and by M. Camille Blanc, representing the casino shareholders. According to this agreement the concession was confirmed for another term of fifty years, dating this time from the 1st of April 1898 to the 1st of April 1948. But the casino was to contribute on a much larger scale to public purposes. First a sum of £400,000 was to be paid, and at the expiration of the old treaty—that is, in 1913—£600,000. Further, a contribution of £200,000 was to be given towards the construction of the harbour so that there should be every convenience for commercial navigation and for pleasure yachts. Already the quay to the west of the port is completed, with a fine breakwater and lighthouse at the end. Near the beginning of the quay a tunnel has been pierced through the rock of Monaco so that trains can be run close up to the shipping. The new breakwater or jetty, which affords a pleasant and breezy walk, is 510 feet long. That on the other side, the casino side, will be of the same length; it is not yet finished, nor are the quays. The latter are intended for yachts. The space between the two jetties for the ships to enter is 330 feet, and the water at the entrance is 260 feet deep. The commercial quay is 1290 feet long and 100 feet broad. The quay on the other side will be of the same width, but shorter, and in the middle of it there will be a mole about 360 feet long and 100 feet wide. The average width of the port is 1350 feet, and the wall of the quay on the commercial side descends 22 to 23 feet below the surface of the water. It is therefore anticipated that large ships will be able to come alongside.

The casino has not only to contribute to the port; it must also give £24,000 a year towards the engagement of the best singers for the twenty-four annual operatic performances. This is a subsidy of £1000 for each performance. There are further charges for the construction of new roads, the upkeep of existing thoroughfares and other

matters with which the comfort of the public is intimately concerned. All these charges do not prevent the steady increase in the value of the casino shares, now worth about ten times their original price.

While M. Camille Blanc is the Chief Director of the financial company that holds the purse-strings, the casino itself is governed by a director-general and three directors. M. L. Maubert is director of what is called "the Interior Service." This comprises the games, the commissariat of surveillance or police, and the employees. These functions are so various, delicate and numerous that this director has to remain at his post from the early morning till late at night. What can be the advantage in becoming the director of so prosperous a business and yet enjoying so little leisure is beyond my understanding. In building up a business, when success is not yet certain, hard work, and even overwork, may be necessary. But success should mean leisure—that is, the joy of having time to devote to all manner of things that are not associated with any sort of sordid, personal interest. In this department there are several sub-directors and general inspectors who are the intermediaries between the directors and the strangers who frequent the casino. These inspectors and sub-directors report every day whatever happens in the gaming-rooms.

M. A. Martiny is director of what is called the Exterior. He is a civil engineer, and his duty is to watch over all the works undertaken or assisted by the casino in various parts of the principality. He will have, for instance, to discuss with the Board of Works Department of the Government the nature of the new system of drainage that must be applied to the principality, and what share of this undertaking shall be borne by the casino. M. J. Séreron is at the head of the Financial Department, and it is hardly necessary to explain his functions. Finally, last but certainly not least, M. Frédéric Wicht is the Director-General. He attends to every department; decides what should be done when any perplexing question arises, or

THE CONDAMINE—MONACO HARBOUR AND THE PALACE

convokes the three other directors to consult with him. The four directors together constitute the administrative committee. They are more likely to meet when a question raised in one service may possibly affect the other services; but, apart from such formal gathering, they are in daily communication with each other. Their respective offices are all in the casino building.

From one point of view the most important position at the casino is held by *M. le Directeur des Jeux*; for he rules supreme over the gaming-rooms and the gaming-tables. His office is just behind the police or commissioners' department, where all have to apply for admission tickets, by the side of the gaming saloons and above the doctor's room or surgery. A small, almost invisible, door separates him from the nearest roulette-table. At his desk any exceptional noise arising in the gaming-rooms could be heard, and it would be only a matter of a few seconds before the Chief Director appeared to decide what had best be done. Nevertheless any sound other than the clink of silver and gold, accompanied by conversations in moderate tones and the usual announcements concerning the game, is rarely heard. The order and discipline maintained is so perfect that it is very seldom anyone ventures to make a disturbance. Sometimes, however, a person may be seized with a violent attack of hysterical screaming or laughter. In such circumstances it is convenient to have the surgery, to which the patient is swiftly conveyed, close at hand. The director can be promptly summoned if other than medical advice is needed. But it is from the opposite side of his office that the more numerous calls are made. Here file past all day long the applicants for admission, and here is the most elaborate system of book-keeping so that "undesirables" may be easily detected and summarily expelled. On such occasions protests, at times rather vociferous, are apt to be made, and then again the chief is there; out of sight and out of hearing, but within a few feet. As all the disputes that arise are personal matters, they are delicate and difficult

to deal with. Much patience, tact and unruffled courtesy are needed to settle them in such a manner as to maintain the high reputation of the establishment.

The exclusion of visitors from the casino or the refusal to grant admission is a matter that has always given rise to much controversy. There is no regular police inside the casino, but functionaries called *commissaires* or commissioners. They are under a legal oath, and have the right to arrest people, conduct them to the door and hand them over to the regular police outside. No one, however, is thrown out of the casino unless he misbehaves himself. If it is found that some person has gained admission who has no business there, it generally suffices to watch him carefully till he leaves and then refuse to renew his entrance ticket when he presents himself again. The ideal principle governing admittances is that no one should enter who cannot well afford to lose all the money in his pockets. Short of an inquisition into the private affairs of every player it is quite impossible to apply such a rule. But in any case no one in the neighbourhood is allowed to ruin himself. All persons established in the principality, even if they belong to the liberal professions, such as medical practitioners, are vigorously excluded from the gaming-rooms. Nor are any inhabitants of the surrounding French Department of the Alpes-Maritimes admitted unless they belong to a high-class club. It is not, however, with such as these that difficulties arise. Again all holders of funds are excluded, however high their position may be. For instance, the Public Treasurer for the Alpes-Maritimes is not allowed to enter the gaming-rooms. Nor are priests or officers in uniform admitted ; and officers who do not wear their uniform, but come from neighbouring French and Italian garrisons, are also excluded. Yet all this has been quietly accepted.

The exclusions from the casino being in a measure based on the agreement with the Government, they are regularly reported to the authorities. At the commissariat of the Government for the surveillance of joint-stock

The Salle Touzet

companies all such details have to be reported, together with the full receipts of these companies. Thus what the casino receives and the details concerning the people it excludes are as well known to the Government as to the directors at the casino. This guarantees the public against all limited companies and such enterprises. With regard to expulsions, each report made covers a period of fifteen days, and in the season some twenty-five to thirty-five expulsions are made in a fortnight. As there are so few visitors, comparatively speaking, in the summer months, it is less easy for undesirables to escape detection. Consequently, proportionately speaking, a larger number are excluded. Thus in fifteen days of June 1911 no fewer than fourteen persons were excluded, or nearly half the number usually expelled during the most crowded winter months. One among them was a man of very good appearance, who could speak several languages. He generally staked two louis at a time, and with unaccountable foolishness always played at the same table. Therefore when an exceptional number of bad louis was found at this table and not at the other tables it was easy to watch the players. The individual in question kept counterfeit louis in his ticket pocket and good ones in his waistcoat pocket. He staked two at a time so as to hide the bad under the good. When questioned, he of course displayed the good money, but the *commissaire* who arrested him insisted on looking into the other pocket. Though the player had given a false name, his real name and history were ascertained through the anthropometric bureau.

Looking over lists of persons excluded we find that the most frequent cause assigned for such procedure is "*n'a pas de moyens*," or "*épuration*." A considerable number of persons loiter about in the rooms, and it is difficult to say for what purpose. They do not play; they must have satisfied their curiosity as mere visitors. It becomes evident that they have not the means to play, and in the crowded condition of the rooms it is necessary to make a clearance. Persons have been excluded for threatening to

commit suicide or for getting too excited and making a noise. Others are sent away because they have given a false name. Others again are reported by the police as suspicious characters or because they have been expelled from a club. The Paris police especially send a full description of rogues of various kinds. Then if a person claims a stake which is not his he will be watched, and if this happens often he is refused further admission to the casino. One man was excluded for picking up from the floor and keeping a louis which obviously did not belong to him; another because he frequented the company of a band of German swindlers; yet another because he had been formerly convicted for theft. One individual was accused of possessing a cardboard louis, which seems innocent enough, for surely it would be impossible to play with a piece of cardboard, whatever its shape and colour. Another had seventeen coins bearing the head of Ferdinand II.; they were all perfectly good and sound, but such coins are no longer current. Suspicion was excited in his case because he persisted in speaking English but with a German accent.

"*Répresentant de Commerce*"—that is to say, "commercial traveller" or agent—is frequently inscribed in the reports as the reason for refusing to renew an admission card. The administration fears that persons who have money which does not belong to them may attempt to win back their own losses with it. This anxiety about those who may play with their employers' money adds a shade of probability to the incredible but amusing anecdote told concerning the captain of a German ironclad anchored at Villefranche. This officer, so the story goes, lost not only his money but also the money with which he was to pay his crew. He thereupon simply but firmly demanded of the directors that they should give it back. If not, he would bring his ship round and bombard the casino. As an officer and a gentleman, he could not survive the exposure which was sure to follow if the money were not returned; but to save others from the same fate he might just as

well blow up the casino first. There would be time enough afterwards for him to blow out his own brains.

In the face of the Cüpenick imposture, which is no legend but a true story, there can be no doubt that such a command, however preposterous, would be strictly obeyed. It will not be forgotten that at Cüpenick an individual dressed himself as a captain and ordered some soldiers to arrest the mayor and the members of the municipality of that little town. They were to hand over to him the municipal cash-box, which, together with the accounts, he would examine while they took their prisoners to Berlin. With true military discipline, all these orders were faithfully carried out, and it was not until the soldiers reached Berlin with their prisoners that the trick was discovered. But the most refreshing part of the adventure was the intense delight with which it was received by the entire German people, and the popularity the "Captain of Cüpenick" at once acquired. It will be remembered that among many other marks of sympathy showered upon him, several ladies wrote letters offering to marry the popular impostor as soon as he was liberated from prison. The German people converted this notorious case into a national manifestation against the absurdity of the unreasoning discipline imposed by militarism. But with such unreasoning discipline on board the many ironclads that anchor at Villefranche, the directors of the casino might well feel inclined to hesitate before admitting officers to the gambling-rooms.

Originally, in the time of Charles III., the idea was to maintain what might be termed a sort of buffer state between the Government and the casino. There were no direct personal dealings between the prince and the casino directors. Now this intermediary office has developed into something that is undefined but much more useful. It is a sort of Board of Trade defending public interests against the encroachments of private companies. Thus, to affirm the principle of government control, its representative has an office at the casino.

He does not interfere with internal affairs or with the management, but he overlooks all the official documents and sees that efficient measures are taken against fire, and that all the laws, rules and ordinances of the principality are carried out. For such a post a person of unimpeachable honour and high position is necessary. In his hands are centred the accounts of all the companies; he can check any illicit proceeding, and he has to know down to the last centime all the receipts made by the casino.

To return, however, to the question of expulsions from the casino: as a proof of the admirable manner in which the books are kept and of the wonderful memory of some of the officials, an interesting incident may be mentioned which occurred in the presence of this high functionary. One of the reasons frequently given for refusing to issue or to renew a card of admission is that the applicant is recognised as having on some occasion, perhaps many years ago, applied for what is popularly called the *viatique* or *viaticum*—that is, a loan of money for travelling expenses on leaving Monte Carlo. Those who play with large stakes are watched so that they may be known, and this assistance is readily given, should they ask for it. Before the war of 1870 a young English medical student went to Monte Carlo, and lost nearly all his fortune, about £1000. He was obliged to apply for the *viatique* to enable him to reach home. Subsequently he went to Australia, and made a large fortune. Four or five years ago he returned to Europe and went to Monte Carlo. He had quite forgotten the little loan he had never refunded. Not so M. Clement, one of the sub-directors of the games. Though nearly forty years had elapsed he recognised the erstwhile medical student. The Government representative, present at the time, assures me that the receipt signed in 1870 was found in less than ten minutes. Of course the wealthy Australian did not demur for a moment to repaying the money he owed, but, on the contrary, was delighted at being found out so quickly, and

overwhelmed with admiration for the wonderful organisation of the casino police. One or two of the employees have been forty-five years in the service, and several thirty-five years. Very little escapes notice, and those who go to the principality are better known and better watched than if they were in any other part of the world.

Of course the Government control is very useful in collecting the necessary materials for the drawing up of official statistics. But for such a control, the figures given concerning the various enterprises carried out in the principality and the nationality of the shareholders would be difficult to obtain. Naturally the greatest interest is felt in the prosperity of the casino, and the figures generally tell of increased success. Thus last year the gross receipts exceeded 39,000,000 francs but did not quite reach the round figure of 40,000,000, or £1,600,000. But this year—that is, the administrative year ending the 31st of March 1912—the receipts amount to 44,000,000 francs (£1,760,000). Of this sum, 40,500,000 francs (£1,620,000) comes from the gaming-tables, and the rest from the theatre, the gas, the Condamine laundry, which still belong to the casino, with £24,000 paid for the privilege of frequenting the reserved or private part of the casino. Though these are enormous receipts it must not be imagined that the bank, as it is called when talking of roulette or *trente-et-quarante*, wins every day. We have seen that in a year it has won £1,620,000 more than it has lost, but it loses sometimes. To lose £4000 in a day is quite a common experience. The highest loss the bank—that is, the casino—has ever experienced in one day is, in round figures, £16,000. But it is on record that in the course of two or three especially unlucky days the casino lost £32,000. On the other hand, the zero helping, the bank usually wins, and when especially fortunate its winnings are larger than those of the public. While the highest record credits the public with having won in a single day £16,000, there exists in the history of the casino the record of a day when it is credited in the Government accounts

with having won £36,000. That is the largest profit realised in one day since the casino has been in existence. Thus does the Government control the casino, taking very great care to know all that goes on, so that these huge receipts shall not be made without giving the public some share in them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CASINO AND ITS EMPLOYEES

TO superintend and manage all the tables, and control the crowds that gather round them, is a gigantic undertaking. Few persons realise the amount of administrative and organising skill that is necessary. It is true that the enormous staff required was gradually recruited. The casino has grown rapidly, but step by step, so that more and more experience was acquired as the establishment increased in size. To-day, however, to manage the tables and to watch, many hundred persons are employed. The exact figure in the height of the season of 1910-1911 was 530, and during 1911-1912 there were a few less—namely, 525. Some of these employees are only engaged for four months, others for seven months, and the rest all the year round. There are many more applicants for these posts than there are vacancies. The position has the advantage of regular employment with the prospect of a pension. As far as possible, the preference is given to those who are already employed by the casino in some other capacity. This affords some sort of guarantee; they are not strangers. Indeed the self-restraint and inherent honesty required is such, that perhaps one of the most marvellous things in connection with the casino is the very small number of robberies committed. Here we have several hundred men doing work which requires constant, concentrated attention, though it is not difficult. Any person of ordinary intelligence could learn what has to be done in a day, if not in a few hours; yet it must require a good many weeks to get into the habit of doing this promptly, and without error. Consequently a school

is occasionally held. Formerly it met in one of the spare rooms giving on to the gallery that surrounds the atrium, but these are now all required for the ever-increasing staff of the administration. In 1909 and 1910 there was no school, and previously it was held at the Palais des Beaux Arts.

On one occasion, I was allowed to attend. The *chef de partie*, anxious to do the honours of the table, presented me with a cap full of money. There were real five-franc pieces, large and small *rouleaux* representing 500 francs and 1000 francs in gold rolled up in paper, though in reality it was only little round pieces of wood that were thus carefully packed. Finally there was a bountiful provision of bank-notes made of blue paper cut to the size of 100-franc, 500-franc, and 1000-franc notes. Being thus furnished with ample funds I was invited to play. The pupils raked up the money I lost, paid me what I won; and as, in the circumstances, there was no virtue in restraint or moderation, I played most wildly. Unfortunately, it never occurred to me to count how much money I had on starting. Though my cap seemed as full when I had finished as when I began, still the question of space is not of much importance where bank-notes are concerned, so that to this day I have not the slightest idea whether, on the whole, I won or lost. One detail I vividly remember. At a given moment I tried what had been described as the Labouchere system, inquiring whether the croupiers and their pupils present had ever heard of it. They were not only unacquainted with the system, but knew nothing about Mr Labouchere. Having first expatiated on the renown and the talents of Mr Labouchere, I proceeded to play his system; but my eloquence was wasted, for when it was seen that I was losing all the time, I fear those present had but a poor opinion of Mr Labouchere and all his works. The hearty laugh of the *chef de partie* haunts me still, and makes me feel that I made but a sorry show and had better have said nothing about the talents of the late editor of *Truth*.

Of course there were many persons having a sham game of roulette beside myself, otherwise it would not have been a sufficient test for the pupils. To constitute an effective school it is necessary to have a real table and a large crowd of players. One or two *chefs de partie* act as professors, and in a short time the candidate has acquired sufficient skill and knowledge. The slight special technical instruction and training necessary must be given by the casino authorities themselves. The candidate, as he appears before them, is in the position of an unskilled worker. On the other hand he must be thoroughly trustworthy, well behaved, obliging and courteous, tidy, clean in his habits, simply but well dressed. Such qualifications are those of the poor clerk, and these worthy persons are "a drug on the market." Therefore the applicants for employment in the casino gaming-rooms are not in a position to stand out for a higher salary. The fact also that they are an international body, recruited from all parts of Europe, makes it impossible for them to check or control the supply of their particular form of labour. On the contrary, their employment is greatly sought after, and to be in the service of the casino is considered a very enviable privilege.

So far as the gaming-rooms are concerned, the position of the employee is in one respect no longer so advantageous. Of late the hours of labour have been increased. Formerly the hours of attendance at the casino were from noon to eleven at night, and the croupiers were on duty one day five hours, the next six hours and so on alternately. Now the tables are worked from ten in the morning till midnight, and the employees have to attend seven hours every day, divided into two shifts, one of three and the other of four hours. At a private club, the croupiers receive tips from the members who win, and this constitutes quite a large income. Formerly at Monte Carlo the authorities closed their eyes when gratuities were given to the croupiers, but subsequently this was forbidden. No croupier was allowed to accept anything whatsoever

from the players; but to-day gifts are permitted, though under certain rather severe conditions. First and foremost, players must not give anything to individuals. The assistant or sub-chief of the table is alone allowed to take a donation, and this he does in a collective sense—that is, for all those who are employed at the table. Any employee who by word, sign or insinuation seems to ask for a gift would be breaking the rules and exposing himself to a reprimand, perhaps a penalty. The casino administration has always been anxious to prevent social intercourse between croupiers and the players. Invitations to meals or any sort of hospitality offered to a croupier has always been discouraged, and is sanctioned no more to-day than in the past. Persons might try and make friends with croupiers in order to induce them to co-operate in some conspiracy to rob the bank. Perfectly honest, honourable kindness might also have a disastrous effect. The croupiers cannot aspire to very high salaries. Their occupation gives promise of but a modest and unambitious existence. If, however, they were occasionally invited by rich visitors to luxurious hotels or villas they might become unsettled and dissatisfied with their lot in life, and thus tempted to some dishonest act. It is considered necessary to keep a sharp watch not alone at the tables but generally. In the rooms, those who watch, watch everybody and everything, not only the croupiers. The administration does not suspect them, and does not believe they are at all likely to steal anything. It is the outsiders who try to steal. People come from all parts of the world in the hope of finding an opportunity of stealing. In spite of the elaborate precautions taken, some of these rogues sometimes manage to gain admission. But if a croupier did steal, the chances are that he would not be caught in the act. He is more likely to betray himself afterwards by his manner of living or by indulging in unwonted pleasures.

Undoubtedly there are not many pleasures in store for the croupier, and his life at the wheel and at the tables, watching the players and ladling out the money, must

become terribly monotonous. If he is forbidden to make friends with any of the players, and compelled to content himself with the society of fellow-employees, his lot is not likely to be a happy one. In this respect it does appear to me that the two administrations of the principality, the Government at Monaco and the casino at Monte Carlo, have been very neglectful. They do not seem to have considered that those whom they employ require some pleasure and some joy in life. This is barely to be obtained with the scant wages they earn, unless by some form of organisation and collective action. To play a game of cards or dominoes at a modest café is not a very festive diversion, and costs a good deal. In England we should probably have a club, a workmen's club, at a subscription of threepence a week, which would be cheaper than cafés, though not conducive to good manners or sobriety. There would also be better clubs for those who could afford to pay more. Then the various sports provide distraction, but at Monaco the sports are organised for the strangers, for the visitors, rarely for the inhabitants.

The one diversion is the band, and it is a good band, which plays two or three times a week. But the Place d'Armes is small, one of the few damp spots in the principality, situated in a sort of a canyon formed by tall houses on one side and the rock of Monaco on the other. It is so placed as to afford a passage for the coldest wind that ever blows in these favoured resorts. The climate, however, is so good that even in this badly selected spot it is generally very enjoyable to walk round the band-stand, listening to the music. Those who say that Monaco is a sink of iniquity where every vice flourishes should go and see the people listening to the music. It has been a great pleasure to me to attend these performances, and I have always been grieved to find that no strangers were present. The excellent behaviour of the people, the absence of any horseplay, the classical beauty of some of the women, enhanced by their modest behaviour and very simple dress, would set a wholesome example to the

Monte Carlo crowd. Perhaps that is why so few of the strangers at Monte Carlo ever take the trouble to see how the people of the principality live. But too much has been done for these strangers, and not nearly enough for the Monegasques, or those who have become *de facto* Monegasques by electing to earn their living in the principality. Among these the employees of the casino represent the majority. As the population is close upon 20,000, counting women and children, and the casino employs at least 3000, who are nearly all adult males, it will be seen that not many breadwinners remain to work for other enterprises. Therefore the provision of means of enjoyment, which, I plead, should be largely increased, would in the main benefit the employees of the casino and their families.

First, there is no such thing as a theatre for the principality. The people cannot go to the casino theatre; though there is no reason why a popular representation should not occasionally be given at the casino. On the 14th of July, the National Fête Day—the "Independence Day" of France, for it is the anniversary of the downfall of the Bastille—the Grand Opera and all the theatres are thrown open to the public free. Formerly, on the prince's birthday, the gaming saloons were open to everyone, which was far from being the same thing. But it was not merely the people of the principality who profited by this free admission. Great crowds arrived from Nice, Menton and other places where the inhabitants are strictly forbidden to enter the gaming-rooms. The chance, a unique chance in the course of the whole year, of a nibble at forbidden fruit brought ever-increasing numbers of curious folks, so that the crowd became unmanageable. Therefore the casino was closed earlier on the prince's birthday, and then earlier still, till at last it was closed altogether. This is better, for now there is at least one day of complete rest in the year. What was possible twenty years ago is out of the question to-day. Naturally, the crowds of people were very different from the ordinary players, and

some of them were rather rough and vulgar. On the other hand, very few of them played; their chief motive in coming was mere curiosity. To "see the beasts feed" was the main idea. With what sort of amusement did these rich foreigners feed themselves? Perhaps it is as well that the wealth-producers should no longer be allowed to see, be it only on the prince's birthday, how the wealth-consumers scatter the fruits of industry.

There is a project for enlarging the quay that faces the port at the Condamine. The small beach and the shallow water might be built over so as to form a broad open promenade, much better sheltered than the Place d'Armes, with a splendid view of Monaco on one side, Monte Carlo on the other, the port and the sea in front. This situation is within easy access of the industrial population of the principality, and here they could gather at moments of leisure. Room might also be found here for a theatre, and there certainly would be plenty of space for marionettes or Punch and Judy shows on holidays for the children. But if the casino has been built at Monte Carlo without adding much to the joys and pleasures of the population, what can be said of the other huge structure, the Oceanographic Museum at Monaco? In Paris some 5000 persons have asked to hear the popular lectures given at the Oceanographic Institute. These are not lectures for students, but for workmen, tradesmen, for the people at large. What has been done at Monaco for the same class of people—the employees of the casino and the trades and industries of the principality? What would happen, for instance, to a grocer's assistant who had some inkling that many of the things he sold came from over the seas; or, perhaps, to a labourer employed in the casino gardens who vaguely knew that the sea had also its gardens and its vegetation? Let us suppose that after seeing the high and mighty and the ambassadors of great nations take part in the inauguration of the Oceanographic Museum, one of these humble individuals determined to go and inaugurate the museum on his own account. What would

happen? His first experience would be that of having to pay a franc for entrance. This sum deducted from his slender wages would be a consideration. Once inside, what help would he find, when help is most needed, just at the dawn of intellectual life, when the hesitating spirit does not know whether it is worth while to make an effort, or whether it is not better to be content with mere stagnant existence? Obviously, popular lectures are needed in Monaco as in Paris, and on Sundays the museum must be thrown open free to the people. Some competent and, above all, some tactful cicerone, to explain and help forward those who are willing to learn, should be present at such times.

Here is a population of 20,000 people without whose labour and industry Monaco and Monte Carlo would have been impossibilities. What share have they in the results? They have been paid wages and salaries, very poor salaries, especially in the Government employ, but this much they must have received even if the casino and the museum had been dead failures. What have they received for contributing to one of the most stupendous successes ever achieved? In towns that are quite poor better provision has been made for the amusement of the people. This great and discreditable omission will, I am satisfied, be rectified in the near future; but it is no honour to the principality to have delayed so long.

Unless there are some joys, diversions and pleasures within easy access the position for men who are earning, if it be a sufficient, nevertheless a very modest income, is fraught with tremendous temptations. Doubtless as things are under the harsh law of supply and demand the croupiers receive perhaps even a little more than their actual market value; but what an atmosphere to live in! "It seems," one of them remarked to me, "as if money had lost its value at the casino. We see what to us represents a year's salary lost and won with the levity we might ourselves display over penny stakes should we have a game of cards at home." These men, living in needy

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circumstances, are handling thousands and thousands of pounds in gold and notes, but not as the paying clerks at a bank handle equally large sums. At a bank there are cheques and other written evidence to act as vouchers for every transaction. There is nothing of the sort on the gambling-tables. The money is raked in and lies in heaps. Those who watch may keep some mental count of the 1000-franc notes, for, after all, they are not so very plentiful, and 6000 francs is the roulette maximum of what can be staked at a time. The five-franc pieces are too big; and, in any case, are not worth the trouble of stealing; but the small gold piece counts for four times as much, and is far easier to deal with by sleight of hand. When several hundred gold pieces have been raked in and lie in a heap under the employee's hand it is absolutely impossible for anyone watching to know exactly how much money is there. The gold flows in and out so constantly and rapidly that the disappearance of a few pieces must of necessity remain unnoticed.

Formerly the highest salary that a croupier could hope to earn was £12 a month. Now this has been raised to £17. All the services connected with the casino have been gradually improved. The change has not taken place suddenly, on any one particular day, but during the last twenty years there has been a general increase in wages or salaries varying from 25 to 33 per cent. From these wages nothing is deducted for pensions or sick funds. Formerly the administration never abandoned widows or orphans of its employees. But there was no rule; it was merely a matter of good feeling. To-day the administration puts aside a sum of money yearly to build up a pension fund, something on which the employees can rely, apart from all good feeling, and which would continue to exist even if the casino were closed. As for what is collected at the tables, that is an irregular asset. At one table some fortunate player may be very generous, at another most of the players may lose; and it is only those who win that make presents. It has been proposed to pool all the

receipts so as to obtain something more like a regular and reliable average, but this would need the installation of an office, a book-keeper—in fact, a small administration. By leaving each table to deal with its own collection-box, the division of the money is easily managed, and without any book-keeping.

Another matter in which the employees are greatly concerned, though it does not much affect the croupiers, is the terrible overcrowding of the services in the basement of the casino. There is absolute lack of room. Gaming saloons have been added to one another without thought of the employees, who also needed rooms. Indeed, the growth of the casino has been very like that of the prickly pear cactus. A big fat leaf sprouts out of the side of another similar leaf. Then there come a second and a third, without plan or general design, actuated solely by the desire to exist. Apart from the fact that more gaming-tables need more croupiers to attend to them, more concerts, more theatrical representations, ballets and entertainments of all sorts have also to be provided for the ever-increasing crowd of visitors. An extra concert-room was built in the newest part of the casino, and a small band detached to play at the Sporting Club, together with another small orchestra to play occasionally in the atrium. While all this was done, and done somewhat eagerly, no one seemed to consider that the increased contingent of singers and actors, musicians and dancers needed some place to dress and to wait in till it was their turn to perform. Then there are the rehearsals, ever increasing in number and in frequency. These again were to a large extent forgotten, so that to-day the congestion of the services has become intolerable. Everyone concerned admits that something must be done, and done at once.

Of course all this should have been carefully thought out as the new wings were one by one added to the casino. To make up for the deficiency, it is now proposed to utilise the space between the far end of the casino and the side and back of the Café de Paris. The slope of the

hill might be bridged over, and underneath offices built that would be on the same level as the basement of the casino, thus providing the room needed for the various services. This would also give more space for the ventilating air-shafts, mixing-chambers, etc. For the moment, the crowding below the casino is appalling, and the heat at times beyond endurance. The people employed are thus exposed to the risk of catching cold and of being unable to perform the work for which they are engaged. This is another example of the evil of too much success. Things get out of hand and out of joint. All concerned are overwhelmed with work. There is no opportunity for relaxation. Yet in spite of all the hurry, stress, strain and effort blunders are made and very important matters forgotten. Managers, organisers, directors, might one and all have had happier lives if less successful, but they could not check the rising tide of popularity.

CHAPTER IX

BEHIND THE SCENES AT ROULETTE

NEEDLESS to say, by reason of his long personal experience, the director who governs the gaming-rooms is probably the greatest living technical authority on the games played at Monte Carlo. He is, for example, one of those very rare persons who profess themselves to have solved the problem as to what is really the advantage that the bank obtains from the *refait* in *trente-et-quarante*. The peculiar feature of this problem is that no one seems to know how it can be worked out, and doubtless those who have considered the matter will be somewhat incredulous regarding the methods employed by the director. But the advantage of consulting a person in such a position, is that although his methods of calculation may be theoretically incorrect, we can nevertheless place the most implicit reliance on his statement as to the result. Such absolute confidence is justifiable because it is not based merely upon a mathematical theory, but is the outcome of years of personal experience: experience of tables and of actual play that is unequalled in the world's history. Such an opinion, based upon this conclusive practical test, coincides with the opinion of the great majority of players. It agrees that the *refait* at *trente-et-quarante* is not quite so advantageous to the bank as the zero at roulette. By this time the casino authorities must be well aware which of the two games brings them the greater profit. Therefore if the player can afford to play in gold, and is content with the simple chance, he will find that the brokerage charged for playing is a little less at *trente-et-*

quarante than at roulette. The greatest advantage, however, appears to be for those who stake 1000-franc or 500-franc notes, insuring them against the *refait*. The rate of insurance is only 10 francs for 1000 francs, or 1 per cent.; but it should be two or three francs more per 1000 francs. Very few players, however, pause to make these calculations. If gamblers carefully calculated, neither the *refait* nor the zero would suffice to produce the enormous fortune the casino represents. Another proof of how little heed is paid to such considerations is the fact that *trente-et-quarante* does not attract so many people. In the height of the season of 1912, there were seventeen roulette and only six *trente-et-quarante* tables in the casino. There were also three more tables at the Sporting Club, and these latter are kept going till four in the morning. In answer to my protests, I was told some persons conceive that enjoyment is impossible in the daytime and that it is commonplace, almost vulgar, to get up before lunch. The casino seems to think it is bound to cater for all these aberrations. This was not so always. Once upon a time Monaco professed to be a health resort. When people said it was very unhealthy to go into the overheated and unventilated gaming-rooms, the answer was that the casino closed early and then there was absolutely nothing to do but to go to bed, which was a very good thing for everybody, but especially for the delicate. To-day a few foolish persons have decreed otherwise, and the casino doubtless thinks wisely that those who are weak enough to yield to such silly fashions will be weak enough to lose their money. The pity of it is that the poor croupiers and the club servants have to sit up in this unwholesome manner to wait on the folly of such people.

One of the most trying and humiliating conditions of this employment is that employees may sometimes imagine they are suspected more or less of theft. There has been, of course, especially in the past, a good deal of pilfering, and the process of sifting the honest from the dishonest

required time. But many of the stories of this thievery are obvious exaggerations. For instance, it has been seriously stated, and in print, that special waistcoats and boots were manufactured for the employees with crafty contrivances for the concealment and storing of stolen 20-franc pieces. However, without any such thieves' pockets, better fitted to betray the wearer than to assist his peculations, it is impossible entirely to remove opportunities for dishonesty. One cannot, for example, forbid an employee to rub or scratch the back of his neck. Yet this simple and ordinary action may enable him safely to slip a gold piece under his collar and down his back. The detection of such small thefts is so difficult that the best precaution, as already stated, is to watch the employees after they have left the casino. This is one reason why such a large number of persons is employed outside the principality. Their mission is to shadow not only the doubtful characters who frequent the casino while living at Nice, Menton and elsewhere, but also the employees who visit these places when off duty. If they were found to spend more money than their visible means appeared to justify there would be reason to suspect that they had discovered some method of robbing the bank. Dropping 20-franc pieces down the back was at one time a trick of constant occurrence.

In discussing these and similar practices with M. Maubert. whom I had the good fortune to meet, the director became quite enthusiastic concerning the wonderful honesty of the croupiers. Recently three of them had been detected and dismissed for stealing. But what was that? There were 530 such employees, it was only a half per cent. Where, in the midst of similar and constant temptation, would only a half per cent. of black sheep be found? Without actually stealing, some of the employees might pretend that they were able to influence the wheel. If they found a dupe who was ignorant enough to believe them, and fortunate enough to win, they might expect and receive a gratuity. But it is obvious that

this could not be done often, as most persons know it is quite impossible to influence the wheel. It is a fraud to make any such pretence, and if an employee were found out in an attempt so to impose on a player he would be instantly dismissed.

As M. Maubert talked upon this topic I could not help recalling the oft-told story of the pinch of snuff. In that case the employee was quite innocent: he did not know that his pinch of snuff was being used by clever swindlers to make money. They induced greenhorns to stake on red by asserting that the employee was their confederate, and that his taking a pinch of snuff was the signal agreed upon to indicate that the wheel would be so twisted as to cause the marble to fall in red. If red did win, the impostors claimed a large share in the profits, which was rarely refused: if the marble preferred black they promptly disappeared.

There also came to my mind another story which has been related in nearly all the books and most of the articles published upon this subject. Here, an employee who dealt out the cards at *trente-et-quarante* had a prepared pack skilfully passed to him under a bank-note. His colleagues thereupon played the maximum, and won every time. If they had been more prudent and less avaricious they would have contrived to lose now and then in order not to awaken suspicion. As it was, their extraordinary and inexplicable luck so impressed the *chef de partie* that he stopped the game and counted the cards. The trick was at once discovered, and the employee who had received the prepared pack promptly arrested. But his accomplices had ample time to escape with their winnings. It is said that a grocer at Nice supplied 70,000 francs for the carrying out of this plot. Three others, one of them the owner of a café at Nice, divided the grocer's money, and it was arranged that they should stake the maximum of 12,000 francs as soon as the signal was given. Though the trick was discovered before all the prepared cards had been utilised, the conspirators are believed to have netted close

upon half-a-million francs. M. Maubert was somewhat reticent when I referred to this well-known story. He did not deny that something of the sort had occurred, but he could not remember what fate had befallen the unfaithful employee. The point was that prepared cards could only be used when, as in this case, the croupier who dealt them out was himself one of the conspirators; but then he could not escape detection, and no one would take part in a robbery if he were absolutely certain of being arrested. As a matter of fact, however (according to one version of the tale), the conspirators attempted to take away by *leger de mains* as many cards as they had brought with them, but they had not got back the full number when the game was suddenly stopped. Had this been done, counting the cards would not have proved anything. In any case such is the version given in an anonymous and scurrilous book written by a person who professes to have been a police detective in the employ of the casino.

As many discreditable stories given by this ex-policeman are constantly reappearing in slightly modified garb, and sometimes in respectable publications, I inquired why some answer was not made. M. Maubert said there was a police detective who had been dismissed a good many years ago. But as a rule attacks and scurrilous stories were allowed to pass unnoticed. It was not necessary, he added, with a smile, to point out that the casino had ample means of replying. But the casino was like Cæsar's wife, and, being above suspicion or reproach, it might be a degradation to attempt any defence. Besides, these attacks generally defeated their own ends. There had been insulting hoardings put up at Nice. The casino could have got rid of these by other than the childish device of throwing sulphuric acid over them as the ex-policeman in question professed to have done. He also pretended there had been negotiations with the anarchists to prevent them from blowing up the casino. This, too, was pure romance, on a par with the legend of bombs that were supposed to explode under

the roulette-table when anyone won too much! The only thing, M. Maubert went on to say, that had really taken place, happened some years ago. A man had placed his hat on a mantelpiece. There was a petard hid inside, and when it burst it made a very alarming noise, but no one was injured.

To-day the attacks made against the casino had generally a double meaning. There had recently appeared a pamphlet entitled "On vole à Monte Carlo." The exact equivalent of *on* does not exist in the English language. It means anyone or everyone, and is so delightfully vague that it is a very safe term to use. Thus this title might be translated, "They rob at Monte Carlo." Most persons would imagine that the author of the pamphlet was accusing the Monte Carlo casino of stealing. If, however, the casino made a complaint it could easily be proved that there were pickpockets and other thieves at Monte Carlo, and that nothing had been said against the honour of the casino or its management. Blackmailing and thieving was all on the other side. From all parts of the world people came in the hope of plundering the bank at Monte Carlo; but M. Maubert agreed with me when I pointed out that the cases when an unfair or fraudulent advantage was obtained over the bank must be very few, otherwise it would not be necessary to dish up over and over again the same stories in the different books and newspaper articles that appeared.

Putting aside, however, the question of plots and conspiracies, or deliberate attempts at robbery which all experience proves are as rare as they are impracticable, the most serious point, that which does exercise the minds of some quite reasonable persons, is whether the wheel at roulette may be so turned or the marble so thrown as at least partially to influence the result. For instance, is it possible to make the marble fall more often in one half than in the other half of the wheel? Indeed, the popularity of playing on *les voisins* indicates that the public does imagine that the marble is likely to fall again in the same

part of the wheel, for the croupier may use exactly the same amount of force the next time he throws the marble. M. Maubert, however, was very positive as to the absolute reliability and mechanical precision of the instrument. All the stories about pinching the partitions and playing to the defect so caused were mere nonsense, and he invited me to examine the roulette myself and see if there was anything that could be squeezed or so altered as to enable a player to win. One man, he argued, may make the wheel go round more often than another, but the result is equally uncertain in either case. Still, I urged that by dint of repeating the same movement it might be rendered so habitual that each man would develop individual characteristics producing results in accordance with his special idiosyncrasies. In a general sense the action of walking is the same for all; yet the wear of our boot-soles shows emphatically that there are considerable differences in our manner of walking. Some of the casino employees turn the roulette-wheel almost as often as they take steps in walking. Just as they tread over their heels or wear their soles in a particular way, may they not hit one side of the wheel more frequently than the other?

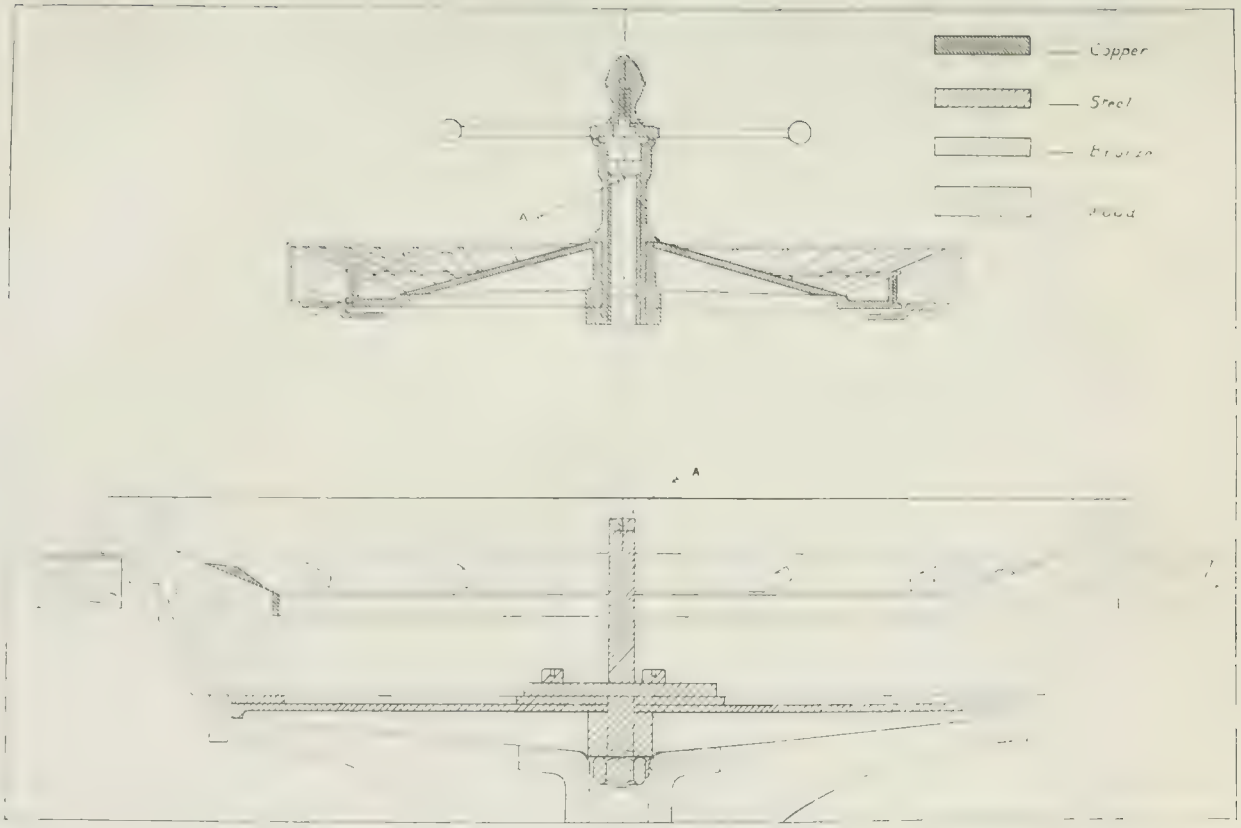
This, apparently, was a new argument, for Maubert did not answer at once, but proceeded to examine the heels of his own boots, and then was delighted to find that my heels were damaged in the same way as his own. After that he stood up and pressed his feet on the floor, and, having sat down again, concluded that, in spite of the delicate anatomy of the human foot, my comparison with the wear of our boot-soles was far too rough to apply to so well-balanced and precise an instrument as the roulette. Of course the arm might be as strong as the leg, so that the muscular force expended in the first impulse might be as great, and might likewise differ widely with each individual. But that would only govern the number of times the wheel and the marble went round and not the termination—that is, when, where and how the marble and the wheel stop. Practical tests,

however, are more convincing than words, and if I would come on the morrow half-an-hour before the doors were open to the public I could not only examine the tables for myself but see how carefully they were tested each day before the play began. For this purpose no fewer than four different functionaries are appointed. There must be present a representative of the engineering department, a representative of the architectural department, a controller from the cleaning department, and a sub-director of the games.

On the morrow, when all these functionaries had gathered, and M. Maubert and myself were ready, together with several attendants, one of them carrying a lantern, we penetrated the silent, vast, empty gaming-rooms. It was a strange experience, and reminded me of the search made at Westminster under the Houses of Parliament before the opening of a new session, for fear there might be concealed somewhere a second edition of Guy Fawkes. The most important part of the inspection is to make certain that the wheels are on a perfect level, though it is difficult to see how the level can be disturbed short of an earthquake. There is an arched brass frame that fits precisely across the wheel while bridging over its handle. In the centre of this instrument there is a spirit level, and thus every wheel is tested every day. Obviously, if the level were not absolute and the wheel tilted to one side this might influence the result. Still further to secure the stability and true level of the wheel it is not put on the roulette-table at all. Certainly it seems to be part and parcel of the table; as a matter of fact there is nothing in the middle of the table but a big round hole. In this hole is fitted an entirely separate case or table, which is made of bronze or gun-metal: this latter is firmly fixed to the floor independently of the large wooden table by which it is surrounded. This wooden table is also very strong and solid, and firmly riveted to the floor, for the players in their excitement are apt to push or lean against it somewhat violently. No

shaking, however, of the table can affect the wheel, because it is on a different and an immensely heavy stand. The inner metal table that holds the wheel is beyond the reach of the public. It is hedged round by the *cagnottes* or cases that hold the money, and protected on each side by three croupiers. Thus it is absolutely out of the reach of the players sitting or standing round the tables; though it is difficult to see what they could do even if the wheel were nearer at hand.

After the question of securing a perfect level comes that of the pivot. In the centre and under the wheel there is a metallic tube about four inches long and one inch in diameter. This is the pivot or axle fitting into the rising centre of the wheel. The latter is flat underneath and arched above. Thus there is much more space in the centre than at the edges. It is of course in the middle of this, the thickest part, that the pivot is introduced. To receive this pivot there is the metallic tubing and the top inside is convex. On the other hand, the pivot at its summit is concave. Thus where the two meet there is a sort of cup-and-saucer effect, and that is the most delicate and fragile part of the whole apparatus. The fit of the pivot into the centre of the wheel must be perfect, and it must be kept well oiled and thoroughly clean. The little point that enters the concave part of the pivot has also to be watched, and replaced if it shows any sign of wear. It was not without a certain emotion that I saw these wheels lifted out of the gun-metal tables on which they rest. The millions of money that had changed hands at the bidding of this simple mechanism confers a strange interest on these veritable wheels of fortune. How many persons have thought and puzzled and wondered how to induce them to turn to their own advantage; and here was the whole thing before me, inside and outside, all made plain and visible. There was nothing concealed and nothing to conceal. I was welcome to touch, feel, move, lift, examine outside, inside or below, anything I chose and verify for myself



Section of the Roulette: Constructor's Drawing

if it were possible in any way to tamper with the apparatus.

Nor was this all. Even the drawings made for the constructors of the roulettes were placed at my disposal. They used to be made at Strasbourg, but now they are manufactured in France. The drawing here reproduced gives a section of the wheel just lifted out and held above the well. Arrows marked A show the little point and the convex indenture which it enters and where it turns. The shading indicates the material used for the different parts. The point is of chromated steel. Other similar points are kept ready at hand to replace those in use as soon as they show any sign of wear. Also it is just conceivable that, if a very violent shock was given to the wheel, the point might break. On one occasion a point, probably because there was a flaw in the metal, did break, and made a slight noise in the cylinder. The game was at once stopped. The wheel was lifted off, a new point adjusted and everything put in order before the play was renewed. The most likely or frequent damage is done to the table, not to the cylinder or wheel. The sectional drawing as well as the observations made above explain that the table is a separate structure. The green cloth with which it is covered and on which the players stake their money wears out and is occasionally torn, but it is very rare anything happens to the wheel. The level, so carefully tested every day, hardly ever changes, especially now that the table which holds the roulette is made of gun-metal. But even if the level were uneven it would only influence the side where the marble fell into the wheel and not the part of the wheel into which it fell. The chances would remain the same. As a matter of fact the tables are inspected mainly for cleaning purposes and to see that they have not been tampered with during the night. The daily ceremony also inspires confidence among the players, and this is perhaps necessary, considering the reckless, thoughtless talk that is too often heard. For instance, it has been said that the result might be controlled by

electricity; but the bronze with which the table is made is a non-conductor, and of greater importance is the fact that the marble, that must be loose, that cannot be connected with anything, is of ivory, on which electricity has no action whatsoever. Everything is foreseen and so watched that accidents are most improbable. Even the lozenge-shaped obstacles are touched every day to make sure that they remain firmly affixed.

A story has been told of a man who succeeded in hiding himself under one of the divans of the casino until everyone had left. According to another version of the same story, he did not hide, but got in at night through a window that was not properly closed. These stories are all so old that in the course of ages their details begin to vary. But the important point is that, being alone in the gaming-rooms, he went to a roulette-table and pinched some of the partitions so that it would be more difficult for the marble to enter between those thus rendered smaller. Having created this defect in the wheel, and having also succeeded in getting out of the gaming-rooms without being detected, he returned next day and made a large amount by staking on the numbers facing the partitions he had not squeezed and rendered narrower. This story may seem fairly plausible to those who have had no opportunity of examining the wheel closely. The first thing I did was to take two of these very partitions and squeeze them as hard as I could between my thumb and forefinger. In this practical manner I was able to convince myself that they were far too strong to be moved unless by the use of tools. But more important than this difficulty is the fact, not realised at a distance, that these partitions are very wide, and much wider than the marble. They seemed to me more than an inch wide, and care is taken that the diameter of the marble shall not exceed two-thirds of the space that separates the partitions between which it settles. Therefore if it were possible to move some of these partitions sufficiently seriously to impede the

marble when about to fall between them, such alteration would be extensive enough to attract attention. Of course with a small toy roulette this could be done, because a very slight pinch would be enough to make a difference, and yet it could not easily be detected. In reality, as M. Maubert observed, if such tricks were possible, the casino would not exist.

M. Maubert then proceeded to demonstrate what I had not realised before nor heard discussed, yet it seems to be far and away the most important factor: between the axle or pivot and the partitions where the marble ultimately settles the wheel rises up to its centre. It is dome-shaped: not a very pointed or cone-shaped dome; on the contrary, a comparatively flat dome, though steep enough for the marble to run down very rapidly. It consequently requires a pretty strong impulse for the marble to run up the sides of this dome-like centre of the wheel. The dome in question is made of very smooth, highly polished brass, and beautifully and evenly rounded. These facts must be taken into consideration, together with another important detail. The wheel is placed at the bottom of what has often been described as a well. This term is an exaggeration. In any case, it is a very shallow well, but it is deep enough to give the marble a sufficient impetus to run up the brass dome; the outer edge of this so-called well consists of a smooth polished mahogany course, round which the marble is sent spinning. After a while the force of the impetus fails, the speed of the marble slackens, and finally it falls into the wheel. In this, however, the marble acquires a new impulse, an impetus that is not due to any human hand, but results solely from the difference of level between the course it has pursued round the upper part of the well and the wheel that is at the bottom. This running downhill to the wheel gives the marble sufficient impetus to clear the partition that divides the numbers from each other, and run up the smooth surface of the dome. What M. Maubert desired to demonstrate was that when once the marble

got on to this smooth brass dome there was an end to any possible or conceivable control.

Dividing the wheel into the four parts of the compass, we might imagine that an employee, after years of practice, was able to throw the marble in such a manner that it would stop and fall into the wheel, we will say just opposite the north. This is difficult enough in itself, but it would be quite useless unless he had equal control over the wheel. That part of the wheel containing the number or numbers on which the stakes of confederates had been placed would also have to stop just opposite the north so as to receive the marble. No one has ever been found to do this. "But," said M. Maubert, "do it yourself: stop the wheel with your own hand. Hold the marble in your own fingers, and let it drop just where the number you want is situated, and see what will happen." The result was that the marble, acquiring an impetus by running down the side of the well, jumped over the aperture of the number at which I was aiming and ascended the brass dome opposite. When the impetus was exhausted it came down again, but at an angle from the line of its ascent. On repeating the experiment, I found it was impossible to foresee what kind of angle this would be. Sometimes it was a right angle, sometimes a left angle, sometimes an acute, sometimes an obtuse angle. It was never the same. Thus, with the wheel perfectly still, holding the marble in my fingers in any position in relation to any number I chose, I could never make it fall in the particular partition I had selected. The moment the marble goes up the brass dome it is absolutely impossible to tell how it will come down again. The brass impediments round the side of the well, which often throw the marble about in an erratic manner, do not defeat calculation or skill so completely as this smooth shining brass covering. Even if the wheel is controlled, even if the marble is controlled and made to fall into a selected part of the wheel, the moment the marble begins to ascend the central dome all the calculations and skill

that may have been made and exerted become useless. There is no knowing towards which partition on the edge of the wheel the marble will descend.

The examination of the tables takes place between nine-thirty and ten o'clock every morning. The lantern, of course, is used for looking under the tables, to see if all is clean and in order. Here there is a sort of casing which serves a double purpose. It holds the empty cash-boxes which were employed to bring the money from the bank, and will serve to take it back again plus the profits. It is also very useful in preventing the pieces of money that are constantly dropped from rolling out of reach. While the examination proceeds the employees or croupiers begin to assemble. The coverings are removed from the tables, and finally the heavy cash-boxes, borne along by two men holding a handle on each side, are brought in. Every roulette-table receives 80,000 francs, or £3200, and the *trente-et-quarante* tables 150,000 francs, or £6000.

This money, of course, is taken out of the portable cash-boxes, counted out and placed in due order in the *cagnottes* or tills by the side of the wheel in roulette, and of the dealer of the cards at *trente-et-quarante*. The empty cash-box is then sent rattling into the big receptacle under the table to await the result of the day's play. How often is it taken upstairs back to the bank lighter than it came down? Sometimes this occurs, but not often, or there would be no casino. Besides, with the modern arrangements it is no longer possible to break the bank in the theatrical manner which was the life and joy of the former generation when playing at Baden-Baden or Wiesbaden. The great Benazet had the dramatic sense. He would allow the till to run dry, and permit the players to see that this receptacle, which they had so often filled with their money, was now empty and its contents in their pockets. This, of course, was the signal for everybody to go mad, and for neurotic women to indulge in the hysteria of excessive joy. The game stopped; the principal winner was carried shoulder high round the

rooms, and sometimes out into the gardens. It was a triumphal procession. The newspapers teemed with details. The man who broke the bank rose from obscurity to world-wide renown, and the next post brought him hundreds of begging letters from distressed people anxious to share his winnings. Naturally it all served as an excellent advertisement, and any number of people were forthwith fired with the ambition to break the bank likewise.

The bank, of course, was never really broken. All that happened was the exhaustion of the amount of ready cash placed in the till of some one particular table. This occurs constantly at Monte Carlo, and there are reserves held ready, conveniently divided up into silver, gold and bank-notes, according to what experience has proved will most probably be needed. When at any one of the seventeen roulette-tables, or the six *trente-et-quarante* tables the supply of money is running short, the *chef de partie* does not wait for the bank to break, but sends for reinforcements. If it is a roulette bank that shows signals of distress it will receive £2000, or 50,000 francs in a few minutes. For the *trente-et-quarante* tables, exactly double that amount is sent. There is no possibility of breaking the banks that can thus be constantly replenished. Even at Baden-Baden all that breaking the bank meant was that the amount of money taken to start the game had proved insufficient. This, M. Maubert said, was constantly occurring at Monte Carlo, and hardly a day passed but one or other of the tables had to send for more money. It would not therefore be practicable to make a great demonstration over what happened so frequently. At Baden-Baden there were fewer tables and fewer players.

CHAPTER X

THE CASINO CROWD

STRANGE as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that the number of persons who enter the gaming saloons has never been counted in a reliable manner till within the last year or two. Nothing is more difficult than to get accurate demographical statistics about the principality; yet in their absence it is impossible to establish anything approaching a scientific comparison with other centres of population. Of course there is a natural love for big figures; they look well on paper. The largest of all these figures is that of the number of travellers who have booked for the principality. The increase from year to year is duly published, and it is shown that, for instance, only 314,787 travellers came to Monaco in 1879, whereas there were no fewer than 1,587,130 in 1911. Many of these bookings represent the same person coming in every day and going out every evening. They only indicate in a very rough manner that there was a large increase. The question then arises, How has this affected the casino? But the casino statistics were defective exactly in the same way as the railway statistics. They simply recorded how many tickets had been issued giving access to the gaming saloons. As many persons have a fresh ticket every day, others every month, this issue of tickets does not show how many different individuals enter in the course of the year. These figures, like those of the railway tickets, indicate a general increase, and that is all. According to this old and defective system, while in 1904 the number of passengers who booked for Monaco was 1,279,232, the number of

admission cards issued for the gaming saloon was 295,000. Thus it might be said that for every four railway tickets issued there is one admission given to the casino. But both for the railway and the casino it is often the same person who comes round and round again, like the troops of a stage army.

The casino authorities have determined to draw up absolutely reliable statistics, and this has a double disadvantage; it is a great deal more trouble, and produces much smaller figures, which of course do not look so well. They are now counting, not by the number of admission cards issued, but by the number of different names entered in their books. Thus every card given is checked to see if the same person had been admitted already at some other period of the year. In this manner duplication is prevented. The result is that in the year 1910 there were 155,950 different names entered. This seems like a considerable falling off from the 295,000 admission cards issued in 1904. In reality, it is an increase of close upon 50,000 since 1904. The number of cards issued in 1910 is 373,000, but it will be seen that more than half of them were duplicates.

The following year—that is, the twelve months from the 1st of April 1910 to the 31st of March 1911—there were 184,000, and in the year ending the 31st of March 1912 no less than 197,000 different persons who obtained admission cards to the part of the casino reserved for players. It is true a few of these only had a look round and came away without playing; but their number is so small that it may be omitted. Also it is absolutely impossible to know how many really resist the temptation of throwing be it but one solitary five-franc piece on the table. Now having at last ascertained at least approximatively the number of players, we can easily reckon the average loss they make. Thus, during the last administrative year, the gross receipts from the tables being 40,500,000 francs, we therefore only need divide this by the 197,000 entries to realise that the average loss was 205 francs or £8, 4s. per head.

Therefore each of the players contributed voluntarily for the maintenance of the casino, for the dividends of its shareholders, for the cost of the Monegasque government, for the promotion of art and science—fortunately the shareholders do not get all the profits—rather more than the average annual taxation levied per head on the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland to provide for all national and local expenditure. Since only foreigners are allowed to play, this is indeed taxing the foreigner. But why should Englishmen only contribute to the relief of the poor and the reduction of taxation when they play in France or at Monte Carlo? Could not the far larger amount of gambling in which Englishmen indulge when at home be also utilised for such good purposes.

The casino authorities, as shown by these figures, are face to face with a very serious problem. They are too successful. This is not a usual complaint, and it may be regarded as a fault on the right side; but it is none the less perplexing. Of course, if these visitors could only be spread more evenly over the year it would be easy to manage, but the enormous majority will persist in coming in January and February. In these circumstances the management of the gambling saloons becomes a matter of great difficulty. During one part of the year they are overcrowded and overheated, while at another season the visitor is impressed mainly by a sense of emptiness. Perhaps there are few things more depressing than to see the employees sitting at an empty table, holding their rakes up in the air like signals of distress because they have no work to do. Instead of the rush and scramble for chairs, one or two persons may be seen looking askance at the table. They stand at a distance hesitating, as if too timid to go by themselves and be the first to take a seat. When scenes of this description become more and more frequent, table after table is covered over and definitely abandoned until next season.

To know how to cope with such fluctuations, further statistics are needed, and of late a new system has been

introduced. On four days during the year no one is admitted into the gaming saloons without having his admission card punched. The cards are only punched once, so that the same person returning a second or third time is not recorded again. In this manner it was ascertained that on the 4th of April 1910 the number of visitors who entered the gaming saloons amounted to 5767. During the summer there was no counting, and the next statistics were drawn up on the 20th of September 1910, just at the commencement of the new season. The entries for that day numbered 1207. On the 2nd of December following, when the season was well launched, the cards were again punched, and on that day there were 2390 entrances. The greatest crowd is at carnival time, and the authorities are convinced that during the carnival week of 1911 there must have been at least 8000 entries in a single day. Perhaps it was because they were so numerous and everyone was overworked that no attempt was made to secure the positive figures. This was not done before the 31st of March 1911, when people were beginning to leave and the season was already on the wane. Even in these circumstances the highest record was obtained, the entries amounting to 6558. This is an increase of 791 on the number counted at the corresponding period of the previous year. On the 4th of April 1911 the number had further increased to 6500. The autumn count was a month earlier in 1911, and on the 29th of August that year only 930 different persons entered the gaming saloons. In winter there was no count, but on the 6th of March 1912 there were 9800 different tickets punched. This was an increase of half as many more when compared with the 6558 of the 31st of March 1911.

The worst aspect of the situation is that to-day quantity rather than quality predominates. This has given cause for much reflection, no small alarm and anxiety and a great deal of useless regret. After all, the development of economic forces is like the tide of the sea, it takes but little account of would-be Canutes, even

if they are casino directors. It is the old battle between the first and the third class, between the saloon and the steerage, between the orchestra stalls and the pit or the gallery. Though the situation is very different, the result will be the same. The mass will win; indeed, it has won already. It is true M. Maubert, the *directeur des jeux*, was very careful to impress upon me that there had been no falling off in the number of the high-class frequenters of the casino. They came now as in the bright days of yore, when, he was fain to confess, their presence was much more obvious. But, he promptly continued, they are there now, only they are lost in the crowd; they are not less numerous, but they are crowded in the mass of pleasure excursionists, of Cook's tourists, of travellers booked through by innumerable agencies and syndicates. Again, there is the question of the automobile. Formerly, people found that it was a long journey, and when they reached Monte Carlo they were glad to stop for a month at least, and often for a considerably longer period. Now they come in their own motor cars and by easy stages, and after they have been at Monte Carlo for a week or so, they feel as if they must travel farther as they have their own automobiles, and it is so easy to go on another stage. Thus it is that the casino crowd has quite a different aspect. It is not what it was twenty or even ten years ago. For one thing, there was no German predominance in those days. Here and there a German might be met, for Monte Carlo was always a cosmopolitan place, but Germans were not more numerous than visitors of other nationalitities. To-day, however, united Europe can scarcely cope with them.

Mr Filson Young, in his remarkable essay on Monte Carlo, still considers that all the wealth of the civilised world is represented on this spot during a few months in the year. Here it is that "the civilisation of pleasure has come to its zenith." The following word painting from "Memory Harbour," one of Mr Filson Young's numerous publications, gives a striking and living picture of the casino crowd:—

"Evening, the grateful cool evening of the South, has stolen down from the mountains and hangs fragrantly in the darkening sky. The odorous shrubs in the garden send out their perfume more persistently; the dust of the day has subsided; lamps grow amid the flowers; men and women, some of the most lovely of women and the most beautifully attired, walk on the spotless pavements as though they walked on a lighted stage. The murmur of music, melodies of passion and romance, steal from violins, out of the cafés and among the trees. There is a rustle of feet, a whisper of dresses, a hum of voices. This is under the evening sky; but as you pass under the great portals of the Casino and enter the rooms the odour of the evening and the perfume of the flowering shrubs fade and vanish suddenly like an overture that is ended. The lights blaze from the chandeliers on the decorated walls and marble floor of the Atrium; the atmosphere thickens, becomes less fragrant, less sparkling, grows heavy and overpowering like a drug. Room after room opens before you, filled with a throng that flows in and out and moves in eddying orbits round the tables. There is something in the atmosphere that is strange and compelling; you realise that you are approaching the heart of something, that you are coming near the centre of a system of tides and currents and influences that has drawn men and women from North and South and East and West, from San Francisco and from St Petersburg, from the Northern and the Southern Seas. You come nearer, pulled as though by a magnet, to where the throng is gathered round the light and green baize of a table. Its edge is fenced by a seated row of men and women, with piles of money before them little and big; with books and diagrams and columns of figures; with faces very intent and a little hard. In the middle of the table and at its ends and sides sit the stolid croupiers with their rakes and cases of money; and all the time except when the ball is spinning and the cards are being dealt, money is being pushed about by those rakes, money enough to replenish a

starving town, to build a bridge or a ship, found a family, to reclaim an estate, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, procure from Rome forgiveness of sins, and to buy the Kingdom of Heaven."

Then again Mr Filson Young alludes to the people here as a family of pleasure, that may be the last corrupt flower of our civilisation but which has a curious charm of its own, adding, "Pleasure is a thing of the surface, pain is a thing of the deeps and upon this shimmering surface only pleasure flourishes."

For Monte Carlo, this may indeed be the whole truth, for the principality it is certainly but a half truth. It is utterly foreign to the history, the struggle and endeavours that will make Monaco long survive in the memory of man the glitter and frivolities of Monte Carlo. It is to be hoped that one of these days this gifted writer will go to Monaco and find that he possesses the temperament to enter its charmed world, to breathe its atmosphere and live its life as he did that of Monte Carlo. Extremes meet, therefore this is perhaps not impossible.

Sometimes it even happens that offshoots from Monaco are found at Monte Carlo and within the precincts of the casino itself. This certainly never occurs in the gaming-rooms, but in the atrium groups are formed, conversations held by persons whose ability and achievements must command respect. It may seem incredible to some, but in these groups any conversation about roulette or *trente-et-quarante* is severely ostracised. Indeed there are circles in the principality where talk concerning these games is considered bad form, just as if in a London drawing-room someone were to extol the charm of getting drunk and propose to discuss the pleasantest forms of intoxication. When speaking with people of this stamp, useful information and ideas may be obtained. Thus, during a discussion of this description in which an able barrister who is a leading member of the French colony took part, the question of the political bearing of

the casino crowd was raised. As the visitors increased in number, and changed in character, what was likely to be the political upshot? Without reproducing the observations made, I will endeavour to embody the drift of what was said on that occasion. While the subject is interesting, it will illustrate the style of conversation which, despite the gambling and the frivolous character of the majority present, may nevertheless be heard even within the precincts of the casino.

It was not until after the Franco-German War of 1870 that Monte Carlo began to acquire its great popularity. Looking upon the principality as almost a part of France, the Germans did not venture to come till the bitter feelings caused by the war had been softened by the lapse of time. At first the French, being so near at hand, constituted the predominant element among the visitors. Then the Italians, as close neighbours, also came. It is true they belonged to the Triple Alliance, but this fact has never weighed heavily on the French mind. The family instinct is stronger than diplomatic combinations; and, whatever governments may say and do, the Latin races are natural allies. Thus the Italian was always welcomed at Monte Carlo by the French crowd that frequented the casino. Nevertheless the Italians were rather timid at first, and only a few ventured. When, however, it was found that no accidents occurred, that they were not individually held responsible for the Triple Alliance, the number of Italian visitors increased. The Italian is usually courteous. Some of the Italian women were beautiful, and stylishly dressed, so that their coming added to the attractions of the casino. Then followed another current of immigration which was not so welcome. In speaking of the difficulty of getting gardeners, I have described the unwillingness of the native to do any heavy work. Along the whole of the Riviera, indeed throughout the south of France, when any hard work, such as navvy's work, is required, foreign labour must be imported. Now Italy, though a southern country, has extensive mountain-

ous districts where a very poor but strong race live exposed to a rude climate and many hardships. They are well capable of doing navvies' and similar hard work, and as the principality began to prosper they came in flocks to help in cutting roads on the rocky sides of the hills, and were useful generally where powerful muscles were needed. But there soon followed another class of Italians who are not so welcome. These are small tradesmen. They opened shops, became permanent residents, and in too many cases sought to be naturalised as Monegasques.

The inrush of Italians was so marked that suspicion arose. If war did break out again Italy belonged to the Triple Alliance, and it might prove very useful to have a friendly population in that part of French territory where a hostile raid might be attempted. The larger the Italian population the greater the temptation to disregard the neutrality of Monaco. It would not be the first time in history that Italian troops had landed in the historic port of Hercules. This feeling of distrust was especially emphatic in the eighties. It was even believed that the emigration of Italians to the principality had been encouraged for political motives, especially when several medical men also arrived as if to give tone and prestige to the Italian colony. In the meanwhile the Germans founded colonies near at hand, notably at San Remo in Italy, very close to the French border. From this vantage ground they came over one by one. The fact that the ruling prince of Monaco was on intimate terms with the German Kaiser made the German tourist think he would surely be well received in Monaco. In this assumption he was not mistaken. Indeed, even in France there has never been any tendency to show resentment toward the individual German. But a current of immigration created for a military and political purpose is quite another matter. Thus it did come about when the German invasion of the principality assumed such formidable proportions that it was thought diplomatic representations should be made reminding the authorities that Monaco was in France. It

was even stated that places where Germans congregate to drink their favourite beer remained comparatively empty on the days when there were French military manœuvres in the neighbourhood. And it does not tend to inspire confidence to discover that such important fortresses as those on the summit of Mont Agel were not only built to a large extent by Italian labourers, but that some Italian officers disguised themselves as labourers so as to penetrate inside the fort.

In the past the fact that Monaco occupied an important strategical position was on the whole an advantage. While all the neighbouring states desired to possess this port they were equally determined to prevent its falling into the hands of a rival state. The princes of Monaco, playing off these mutual jealousies one against the other, contrived to keep themselves in existence. To-day the position has entirely changed. It is only necessary to keep on good terms with the French people and their Government. The most dangerous thing that could happen would be the raising of the cry of "Prussian spy" against the principality. It will be understood, therefore, what fears the German invasion has engendered. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that many old residents regret the days when most of the visitors were either French or British. Some of the authorities to whom I spoke on the subject sought to minimise the matter by insisting that though a great many persons spoke German they were not all Germans. There were many Austrians and Swiss from the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland, and a few from the Balkan principalities who know German better than French, so that the German language predominated more than the German people.

Putting aside all political or military considerations, there remains the fact that the Germans are not particularly distinguished for their elegance of person, dress or manners. Consequently a large crowd of Germans in the casino, or parading on the terraces, does not add to the beauty and charm of the place. It is true that the

Germans are always clean, and their clothes, even among the poorest classes, in perfect order and repair. They do not wear picturesque rags, like some of their Italian allies. But the Italian labourer, as he saunters by in his shirt sleeves, has affixed a bunch of bright red geraniums to the side of his large, torn and battered brigand hat, which just makes him a perfect picture. Englishmen, it must be admitted, do dress well, though when they get abroad they sometimes wear eccentric costumes that are very profitable to the Continental caricaturists. Englishwomen are sometimes grotesque, often dowdy, occasionally quite elegant. The British people, formed out of many races, are an uncertain quantity, but they used to be considered a genuine acquisition to the casino. Their arrogance was overlooked because they paid well. The tradesmen, anxious to do business, ingeniously discovered that the English were eccentric, and that therefore their impertinencies were to be overlooked. But when the English in a railway carriage spread their rugs over seats that do not belong to them, frown at anyone who attempts to enter, and haughtily refuse to exchange a civil word with a fellow-traveller, they are not thought eccentric. The term used is less indulgent, and the Englishman himself who is an experienced traveller knowing foreign languages will take good care to avoid his fellow-countrymen. Nevertheless the English were very popular at Monte Carlo, but will this popularity survive the advent of the cheap trippers, of the Cooks and Cookesses according to Pierre Loti's denomination? If, as Pierre Loti would have us believe, they can ruin Egypt and the Temples of the Gods even up to the Second Cataract, what could they not do at Monte Carlo?

CHAPTER XI

SOME NOTABLE PLAYERS

THE lover of polemics might raise some very close arguments over the question as to what constitutes a notable player. Is it some celebrity who plays or is it some unknown, insignificant person who contrives to play in a remarkable manner? Undoubtedly the first impulse is to watch a grand duke, a member of a royal family or a millionaire who may happen to be hovering round the table; but his Majesty Money is king, and the man who wins the most soon eclipses all other attractions. The future heir to a throne may be playing at table No. 10, but if some totally unknown individual is really about to break the bank at table No 17, the majority of spectators will prefer to witness such a triumph. So long, however, as nothing particular is happening with regard to the vicissitudes of the game, the players have a better prospect of being considered according to their social position than according to their good fortune in playing. Nevertheless it would be difficult to find a spot in Europe where less attention is paid to celebrities than in the gaming-rooms. The employees and attendants endeavour to remember the appearance of distinguished visitors, so as to avoid being reproached for want of deference, but the general public thinks of little else than the game. Yet when once outside the rooms, as the gossip to be heard on the terraces or in the atrium clearly indicates, considerable interest is manifested concerning the manner of playing adopted by well-known persons.

How many people, for instance, have puzzled over de Rothschild's mysterious No. 17. The late Monsieur Arthur de Rothschild was an assiduous roulette-player. Formerly

he came to Monte Carlo every year in his yacht. When he could no longer travel in this manner he came in a motor car. M. de Rothschild was among the first to travel in a motor car. He had a villa at Monte Carlo, and a special garage was constructed for his car. Though he stayed several months at Monte Carlo he rarely passed a day without trying his luck at roulette. But the extraordinary part about it was that he never varied his play. He always put his stake on No. 17. If he were fairly successful he would play for an hour. If not, he would get someone to keep his place and go out to smoke a cigar. After a while he returned and resumed the same play. The only change he ever allowed himself was occasionally to stake on zero, but never on any other number. If his ill-luck continued he was apt to lose his temper, and finally would jump up in an evident passion. On such occasions he would return yet again in the evening. Here, then, is a real problem. M. de Rothschild cannot be considered a thoughtless gambler. He belonged to one of the greatest financial families of Europe, and had control of millions. What can have induced such a man to play at all, and to play in so peculiar a manner? What mysterious connection can there be between the house of Rothschild or that one individual member of this celebrated family and No. 17.

There was a Polish gentleman, possessing a beautiful villa at Monte Carlo, who played in a similar manner; but his favourite number was 32. He would not only place the maximum on 32, but still further to increase his stake he also put money *à cheval* and on the *carré*, which included No. 32. It is said that 32 was really a good number for him, as he is reputed to have won at least 1,000,000 francs, and, what is much more wonderful, he is further credited with having kept some 600,000 francs. During the season of 1911 he hardly played, and seems to have realised that, if it is possible to win, it is not possible to win always. There are many other great financiers who are fond of playing at Monte Carlo, but they are not all troubled

by favourite numbers or special systems. Mr Vanderbilt came with all his family, and they all played. There was his son, his son-in-law, and their families. None of them failed to play, though it did not appear that they had studied the chances and prepared any method to cope with them. Mr Vanderbilt senior had, however, a peculiarity which somewhat amused the onlookers. He generally put a 1000-franc note on a *transversale*, and then whether he won or lost he would run off to another table. In this we have the beginning of a system, of a theory. If all is pure luck, if there is nothing whatsoever to be done to alter the decrees of Fate, why run from table to table? Mr Vanderbilt was no ordinary person, but a man of extraordinary acuteness and wide experience in money speculations. What could have induced such a brain as his to imagine he would be more fortunate if he constantly changed tables? There was another American gentleman who was very wealthy and used to come to Monte Carlo in a yacht. He had an extraordinary faith in No. 14; but his confidence was misplaced, and he lost a great deal. On one occasion he was seen to lose, at a single sitting, about £2000, all on No. 14. With regard to a favourite though often fatal number there is the old and very stale story of Miss Jane Armstrong.

A book published some ten years ago, obviously for blackmailing purposes, relates that this lady was a rich orphan from New York who came and played on No. 24, and at first won some £800; but ultimately she is said to have lost £10,000 and thereupon to have committed suicide. The book in question also published a sensational sketch of Miss Armstrong with a big hat, wild eyes, and a graceful figure, pointing a revolver at her heart. The strange thing is that though this suicide, due to losses on No. 24, is said to have taken place in 1881, the melancholy story is related anew on every possible occasion, in spite of its being more than thirty years old. It appeared once in *The Looking Glass* of the 18th of March 1911, when the fancy sketch just mentioned was reproduced, and

details were given in the following issue of that paper. *The Looking Glass* of the 25th of March expresses its astonishment that Miss Armstrong could have been portrayed in the act of shooting herself when cinematograph operators were as yet unknown, and adds that she

"took a fancy to No. 24 at roulette, possibly because when she first went into the rooms it was the number of her *vestiaire* ticket, and she had the good fortune to see it come up three times in succession. She won 20,000 francs in no time, and that was the cause of her ruin. For days and days she stuck to No. 24, but wherever she played it would not 'come up.' She'd walk up to another table just in time to hear the croupier call out:—'*Vingt-quatre, noir, pair et passe.*' But when she began to stake, it would never repeat itself. And after half-an-hour's play, just as she was leaving that particular table, up came No 24! It was maddening—heart-breaking. The more she lost, the more *entêtée* she became. After a fortnight's gamble she had lost the greater part of her fortune, and became so down-hearted that she shot herself one night on returning home."

The most wonderful part of this story is that such minute details should have been remembered and repeated from mouth to mouth, from newspaper article to newspaper article, and from book to book, for now more than thirty years. Such stories must be very scarce for this one to be so carefully stored and so constantly reproduced. In any case, Miss Armstrong, by her persistent devotion to the number 24, and her dramatic end, is certainly entitled to be mentioned among the notable players.

It must be confessed, however, that some of these players are chiefly notable for their extreme foolishness. Perhaps one of the best descriptions given of this type of person is contributed by "Flic" to *Black and White*, 21st March 1911. This writer on "Merry Monte" describes the first visit of a lady who

"is quite the pink of propriety at home, and would no more think of backing a horse than of doing a cake-walk down the Strand. The air of Monte, however, got into her head, and the gambling fever seized her. She simply *must* have a flutter at the tables. She appealed to an acquaintance, an old hand at the game, as to how she should go about it. 'Nothing more simple,' was the reply. 'Take your seat at the table, back the number that will turn up, and you will soon win quite a large

amount!' 'Thank you very much indeed,' was the beaming response. 'How delightfully easy; I wish now I had heard of it sooner.'"

To return to players who are notable apart from any peculiarity in their manner of playing, the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia may be mentioned as an assiduous frequenter of the tables. He has a peculiarly fanciful way of staking his money. Generally he risks from £20 to £40 at a time, and likes to cover one number in every possible way. First he stakes on the number itself, then *à cheval*, then on the *carré*, the *transversale*, and so on. On one occasion he managed to dispose of forty-seven louis in backing directly and indirectly one single number. Thus, though he may not win often, he has the satisfaction of receiving several different payments, and of raking in a very large sum when he does win. The Grand Duke Nicholas, however, has no favourite number, nor any favourite table. When he has placed his money over a number in this elaborate manner, he walks off, for he strongly objects to seeing the wheel go round and his money being swept away. Therefore he goes to the next table or stands at a distance, trusting to the *chef de partie*, who will make him a sign if he has won. This is easy to do, for the Grand Duke Nicholas is so tall that he can be readily distinguished above the crowd. If the Grand Duke loses, he may return and stake again at the same table; but, when he wins, he picks his money up and goes off at once, if not out of the casino altogether, at least to some other table. The Grand Duke Nicholas comes to Monte Carlo twice, sometimes three times, in the course of the year. He is very courteous, and manages to salute the croupiers before the latter have time to recognise and salute him. His brother, the Grand Duke Michael, seats himself at the end of a table, for he has a prejudice against the middle of the table. To please him, the croupiers have to remember that he does not like the cylinder to turn quickly. It is customary to keep the wheel in motion while the players are laying their stakes; but the Grand Duke likes the wheel to turn slowly so that he may more

easily see in which partition the marble has fallen, and which are the neighbouring numbers. He seems somewhat more authoritative in his manner; but when he perceives that attention has been paid to his wishes, and that the wheel does not go round too quickly, he does not fail to make a sign with his head as an acknowledgment. In 1910 his father died at Cannes, and since then the Grand Duchess, his mother, does not come so often. It is curious to note that, in opposition to her son, the Grand Duchess prefers to sit near the middle of the table, and she always gives her money to one of the croupiers to stake for her. The late Grand Duke Serge and the Grand Dukes Paul, Peter and Alexis, were, every one of them, assiduous frequenters of Monte Carlo, and greatly enjoyed playing.

A long list might be drawn up of royal families who have patronised the gaming-tables at Monte Carlo. Indeed, if expedition and brevity were the object, the best thing to do would be to compile a list of those who have not been to Monte Carlo. This would be a very short list. It is true that her late Majesty, Queen Victoria, though she often drove through the principality, did not visit the casino. On the other hand, his late Majesty, King Edward VII., when Prince of Wales, was a constant visitor. His Majesty was usually accompanied by his private secretary. In manner and bearing, the late king passed as a simple, unpretending, courteous gentleman. He went into all and any of the rooms just as the first-comer might, and generally asked one of the attendants to place his stakes for him on the table. It is not, however, only future kings but reigning sovereigns who come for an occasional gamble. The King of the Belgians was so frequent a visitor that he bought himself a fine villa and property near at hand by the beautiful harbour of Villefranche. The late King Oscar of Sweden and his son were assiduous patrons of the roulette-tables. The Archdukes Ferdinand and Francis of Austria likewise came to Monte Carlo, and, among the German visitors, Prince Hohenlohe and several members of his family may be noted. Then

there are pretenders, such as Don James de Bourbon, who is never so happy as when someone in anticipation calls him your Highness. He has no special system, but he often plays, and is very lucky. Another pretender who, when an exile, used to come frequently to Monte Carlo, did not possess the best of tempers. On one occasion he showed his ill-humour by boxing the ears of a croupier. Of course there was a great commotion. The prince had to apologise, and he also offered 1000 francs as compensation. With great dignity the simple croupier accepted the prince's apology but refused his money.

In more recent times Mr Darnborough won widespread renown by his extraordinary good luck. Generally he played on the eight numbers that were nearest to zero, and won in all 2,000,000 francs, or £80,000. Further, he is one of those very rare men who, having won a great deal, has not returned to play and lost it all. On the contrary, he has invested £48,000 in the purchase of an annuity, so that the casino authorities, who take care to be well informed on such matters, have lost all hope of getting the money back. There was, on the other hand, a Pole from Warsaw who also won just about 2,000,000 francs, but he punctually lost them all again. Now it seems as if there are some people who cannot possibly be saved from their own folly, for this Pole had the extraordinary luck to win about 2,000,000 francs a second time. It might be thought that having already once lost all he had won, he would know, on the second occasion, when to stop, but it was not so. He continued playing till once again he lost all the 2,000,000 francs of his second fortune.

It is not, however, the notable, especially the wealthy players, who are most profitable to the casino. The rich man who, out of his large income, risks a few thousand pounds every year is of comparatively little benefit to the casino. It is true, that one year he may lose all this money, but the player is none the worse. Out of next year's income he risks a similar sum, and this time his

luck returns and he wins back about as much as he had lost. Thus the game continues, and the most the bank can hope to win is the percentage, the brokerage, the zero represents. As this amounts to only $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on the simple chance at roulette and a little less at *trente-et-quarante*, a player who only risks his superfluous cash may continue playing for many years. The position stands thus: is it worth while losing, on an average, £51, 6s. 8d. for the pleasure of winning £48, 13s. 4d. ?

Speaking to one of the assistant- or sub-directors who has been in the employ of the casino since the Homburg days, he expressed his conviction that the players with only a little money brought the most profit to the bank. They could make no fight of it; and as they were never content with a small profit, something proportionate to the small capital they brought, they were bound to go under. Then they could not afford to come again the next year and win it all back, as the rich people did. With regard to the poor people, who toiled very hard, working out some system by which they made, with some approach to certainty, perhaps twenty francs a day, they might, and indeed did, live on the bank for many years. Yet the day comes when they give it all back. Nevertheless he agreed with me that the bank depended on the folly of the player far more than on the zero. If every person who won stopped playing after losing 50 per cent. of his winnings, the casino could not exist. But those who keep what they gain are almost unknown. After all these years of experience it was evident that, on the whole, the public must lose. Some system might succeed for a while, but there was no certain method, otherwise it would have been discovered and applied long ago. By far the most notable player was the player who carried away his winnings and did not return to lose them all.

Well worthy of being mentioned among notable players are those pathetic women, wives or sweethearts,

who seek to redeem the lost fortunes of their husbands or lovers. The most wonderful and cheering thing about it is that they are sometimes successful. The American paper, *The Sun*, of 23rd October 1910, is responsible for the following story :—

"Yet if the poisoned atmosphere makes sirens, it also brings out traits of womanly devotion. What of the touching and romantic story of Suzanne Bernnatzki, who became infatuated with the young Count X, a confirmed gambler?

"Count X had gambled away his family fortune, though no one but Suzanne knew how near he must be to the crash. Only certain funds which amounted to a trust were at his call. One afternoon Suzanne discovered that he had sent for the money—and was on his way to play it. She hastened to the Casino, found him at roulette No. 3, and watched him at a distance.

"He was losing, already embarked on the stubborn man's system of 'betting against the bank's game,' and forcing his luck. Suzanne knew better. She dived into her purse satchel and fetched out three 100-franc notes. Without any particular plan she begged a gentleman in front to place them on the red and they won for her, just as her lover at the other end of the table had lost 300 francs on black.

"Someone made room for her. She took a seat just as the young Count bet 600 francs between the first and second columns. 'They'll both lose,' an intuition told her, so she quickly slapped 300 francs on the remaining one. Click! She raked in 600 francs—the 600 that he was losing! And the luminous idea pursued her. So long as her stakes held out she would bet against her lover. Should she lose it would not matter —he would be winning. But should he lose then she must win for him.

"She won and won; her pile of bank-notes grew imposing; she let herself go into speculative byplays; she was winning more than X was losing. Then the end came quickly. He rose from the table. Sweeping all her new wealth into her purse satchel, Suzanne followed.

"He walked the beautiful terrace in the darkening twilight. Suicide was in his heart. She approached him. They sat in the marble hemicycle.

"'I am ruined and dishonoured,' he said. 'I have just lost 20,000 francs that are not mine.'

"'That is funny,' answered Suzanne. 'I have just won 26,000—a wonderful run of luck at table No. 3.'

"'That's where I lost my money. Black and even the double columns.'

"'And I won on red, odd and single columns,' laughed Suzanne bravely. 'My friend, I have evidently won your money.' Then opening her satchel to show the mass of wealth, she added: 'you must take it back, I cannot keep it.'"

Should this, like so many other casino stories, prove to be apocryphal, there is absolutely nothing improbable about it. Indeed something of the sort must have occurred several times. When a person plays on the dozens or the simple chances nothing is easier than to neutralise the result by playing on the opposite chances. The only risk of loss then remaining is the zero. But even if the zero came out with more than usual frequency it would only mean an occasional loss; the winning side would still win nearly if not quite as much as the other side had lost. To the anxious wife who sees her husband ruining the family this method may be strongly recommended. Indeed, it is difficult to suggest what else can be done to save the situation. It is far safer than going and playing afterwards. In the one case the winning back of all the losses excepting what zero takes is a mathematical certainty. In the other case, it is merely a question of luck, though it does, and not infrequently, happen that, of a couple, the one is as lucky as the other is unlucky.

A story of this character was told me by a servant concerning her former master. The gentleman was of noble family, had a large estate in Savoy, where he was much respected. To escape the severity of the winter he took a villa on the Promenade des Anglais, at Nice. Of course he went to Monte Carlo, which is within easy reach from Nice, and there finally lost all his fortune. Hastening back to his country-seat he broke the news to his wife, telling her that the estate and all they had must be sold. This was the more humiliating as he had always been so highly considered throughout the neighbourhood. But his wife was not disposed to submit thus tamely to their ill-fortune. Looking around her, she collected what ready cash it was still in her power to raise, and took the first train to Monte Carlo. This lady was not a gambler, that was her husband's vice; but on this occasion she played, and played boldly. In a short time she had won, perhaps not as much as her husband had lost, but, in any case, quite enough to redeem their

fortunes and render the sale of the estate unnecessary. Overwhelmed with joy, her newly acquired wealth about her, this excellent wife hastened home. It was too late. Her husband's life was wrecked though his fortune had been saved. He could not shake himself free from the impression that he was ruined, and soon fell into a sort of dotage.

Such dramatic and distressful occurrences are the inevitable result of all gambling, whether on the Stock Exchange, on the racecourse or at roulette. But a devoted wife would not find it as easy to counteract her husband's gambling propensities on the Stock Exchange or on the racecourse as at the roulette-table. It is difficult to imagine a lady rushing off to a race to back the field against her husband's favourite horse, or attempting to bear the market when her husband was speculating with the bulls. At roulette it is impossible for a player to conceal his game; on the racecourse or money market the speculator need not reveal how he has invested his money.

CHAPTER XII

THE SUICIDES

TO describe Monte Carlo as a "gambling gehenna" that "makes heaven kiss hell," where people fear to take morning walks because they know not "at what turn they may come across a dead body," is the style some writers adopt apparently in good faith. Before me is an article cut out of an old number of *The Echo* and preserved as a curiosity, which says: "It is averred by those who profess to know that such cases [suicides] are never fewer than 300 in any year," and that "a few miles from Monaco is a cemetery used only for the burial of suicides." In "The Secrets of Monte Carlo," by Mr William Le Queux, which has now run to a sixpenny edition, this highly imaginative author says:

"To the readers of these reminiscences it may also be a surprise to know that since 1877 up to the present time" (there is no indication to show when this was written) "the average number of suicides in the principality of Monaco, with its four thousand inhabitants, has been more than one daily!"

The authoress of "The Romance of Monaco" speaks of the "sinister roll of suicides, two thousand since 1860," apparently on no better authority than that of an author whose book was condemned for libel. Hundreds of other equally wild assertions have been made, till at last the idea of suicide has become intimately associated with Monte Carlo.

That a number of people should wish to fling stones at Monte Carlo is quite natural. There is a great variety and multiplicity of reasons to account for such irritability.

But it is astounding and alarming to find that persons who are sufficiently intelligent to make their way in the world as authors are so careless and imprudent as to write on an important demographical problem without first obtaining at least some elementary knowledge of the question. Surely these writers might have devoted a few hours to studying some work on vital statistics. They might have looked at the Registrar-General's Annual Report, just to get some idea as to what are the probabilities and possibilities. We should not then be told that since 1877 there have been more than one suicide per day in the principality *with its four thousand inhabitants*. It is a detail, perhaps, that none of these inhabitants, whether four thousand or more, was allowed to play. Before thus specifying the number of inhabitants it would have been prudent to take up the statistics. These show that at the quinquennial census of 1873 there were 3443 inhabitants; in 1878 this number had already increased to 6049; to-day the figure amounts to nearly 20,000. But this has nothing to do with the suicides, since the object is to denounce the casino, which the inhabitants are not allowed to enter. Then why mention the four thousand? If among them more than one suicide per day occurred, in less than ten years the entire population would have committed suicide instead of increasing three and four fold. But we will examine the situation as it affects the gamblers.

When the population of the principality was about 4000—that is, in 1874—the number of people who booked to Monaco amounted to 186,000. In 1811 it was 1,587,130, and there were 197,000 persons admitted to the gaming-rooms; therefore the proportion between booking and admissions to the gaming-tables is about one to eight. Consequently, in 1874 some 23,250 people went to the gaming-tables, and if there were any truth at all in the story it would be out of these players, not among the inhabitants, that more than one committed suicide per day. Let us say the total was 400. This would mean a death-

rate from suicide alone of 18 per 1000 per annum. Have such writers ever seen statistics of the death-rate of any town or country? If they had they could not write such absurdities.

There is another extraordinary manifestation of mental blindness. The people who talk of one suicide per day seem impervious to the fact that this is a gross libel on the medical profession. There is a medical society at Monaco, and it might increase its funds by bringing actions and claiming damages for such a libel. The number of suicides said to take place, in proportion to the population and visitors, is so absolutely beyond anything conceivable that if it were correct such an occurrence would convulse Europe. If correct but concealed, then all the medical practitioners in the principality assist in such concealment. This would be not merely "infamous conduct in the professional sense" but infamous conduct in the ordinary criminal or common law meaning of the words. Even writers of romances are supposed to keep to possibilities and probabilities. What right have they to libel an honourable profession? It may be said the casino pays hush money, but this would be a still grosser insult. Surely medical men would not compromise their position and break their career for the sake of the casino. All the medical men practising in the principality hold their degree from foreign faculties. Even the one Monegasque doctor, Dr Marsan, received his degree from the Paris Faculty of Medicine, which would at once disown him if he attempted to conceal the cause of death and give a false death certificate. What would become of the British practitioners? What would the London Royal College of Physicians or of Surgeons or the qualifying authority at Edinburgh do if they thought that practitioners bearing the degrees they conferred were endeavouring to hide the fact that some of their English patients at Monte Carlo had committed suicide? Then, are not the French a civilised people? Would they tolerate such a thing in their very midst? The burial laws in France are very

strict, and they are equally severe in the principality. It is a criminal offence to conceal the cause of death, and no administration could conspire to commit crimes of this description. No such secret could ever be kept. Those who believe such things must have been hypnotised by a suggestion planted in the brain in an unguarded moment and therefore accepted without investigation or criticism. The suggestion grows up, becomes a habit, and these people have to be awakened to understand the enormity of what they unconsciously adopted as a truth.

Needless to say, there is absolutely no secrecy; no corpse, whether a suicide or otherwise, can be buried without a medical certificate and a legal permission. Monaco, apart from its own love of law and justice, is too near to Paris, to Rome, to London, to Berlin, for it to be possible secretly to inter hundreds of people in the course of a season. It is an insult to the civilisation of Europe to imagine such a thing. But how then did this scare arise? The older inhabitants have no difficulty in answering the question. It was started by the late Bishop of Gibraltar. When, in the seventies, it became evident that Monte Carlo would develop into an important resort and attract rich and influential people, the Bishop of Gibraltar, who has the care of all Church of England chapels on the Continent, approached Prince Charles III. But the late prince refused to grant permission to build a Church of England chapel in the principality. This refusal, of course, was ascribed to his bigotry as a Roman Catholic and a bitter feeling was engendered. Thereupon the Bishop of Gibraltar discovered that when people lost money at the casino they sometimes committed suicide. An agitation was organised, and the cry of suicides was raised because it was more effective than arguing against gambling to populations that back horses and speculate on 'Change.

The last time I had an opportunity of discussing public matters with his Highness, Prince Albert, I inquired whether he had heard that the campaign against Monte Carlo with regard to the suicides was started by the late

Bishop of Gibraltar because the permission to build an English church was refused. The prince replied that he remembered the incident very well; but it was a mistake to attribute the refusal to any deeply felt intolerance. On the contrary, it was due to the desire to obtain greater liberty. The difficulty of the principality had always been that it had no bishop of its own. For all ecclesiastical purposes, Monaco had been a portion of the diocese of Vintimille or of Nice. Prince Charles III. was then negotiating with the Pope and striving to secure the appointment of a bishop for Monaco who would be independent of any French or Italian diocese. He was told that if he allowed an Anglican church to be built in the principality the creation of Monaco as an independent diocese must be abandoned; Rome would never consent. So it was the Pope of Rome and not Prince Charles who refused the English petition. Nevertheless it was Prince Charles and the principality who had to suffer the consequences. It is true that the thunders of the Anglican Church have not wrought much injury, but Prince Charles and the Monegasques generally would have preferred not to give offence to any religious community, whether Anglican or belonging to some other denomination. This is amply proved, for now that they have succeeded in getting a bishop of their own all churches are authorised in the principality. Thus a short time ago a Lutheran church was built in the rue Grimaldi. Indeed, the prince assured me that even so far back as the eighteenth century all religions, at least in theory, were tolerated in the principality, and in this respect it was in advance of the rest of Europe.

The bed-rock of fact, however, is the best exposure of all fallacies. But with regard to vital statistics, these are of little use unless we can establish a point of comparison. This is easily done in towns where there is a stable population, but when the question relates to a popular resort with many seasonal visitors, two sets of statistics are provided: the crude death-rate and the corrected death-rate.

In the principality the matter is still more complicated, for I am not aware that there is any profound interest felt throughout the world in knowing what difference may exist in the frequency of suicides among the tradesmen, workmen and inhabitants generally of Monaco as compared with the frequency of suicide in other localities. As a matter of fact it so happens that this is a problem, a curious and interesting problem, but its existence is utterly unknown even to specialists. What interests the world at large is the belief, assiduously propagated, that a large proportion of the people who gamble at Monte Carlo end by committing suicide. To show that very few suicides occur in the principality is no answer, for anyone acquainted with the death-rates of most countries knows full well that suicide is not a frequent cause of death. Thus, in any case, the figures are bound to be small, and to talk of one suicide per day is to stand self-convicted of absolute ignorance with regard to such questions. For instance, in London—according to the County Council statistics (vol. xxi.)—in every hundred deaths during the five years, 1899-1903, the proportion due to suicide was 0·6 per cent., or nearly two hundred deaths before we get one suicide. Since then the proportion has increased to 0·7 per cent. But then the County Council knows how many people die in London, whereas we do not know how many people gambled at Monto Carlo.

Fortunately we have to-day figures that are correct enough for all practical purposes. If we cannot say with mathematical precision how many persons have actually put money on the tables we do know how many individuals received the cards that admit to the gaming-rooms. There remains but one complication. These latter figures relate to what is called the administrative year, dating from the beginning of April to the end of March, whereas the demographical figures, to conform with those of all the rest of Europe, relate to the twelve months from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. These figures, the death-rate of the principality for 1911, are here photo-

Année 1911

Répartition des décès par Cause et par Mois

NUMÉROS D'ORDRE	CAUSES DE DÉCÈS	Janvier	Février	Mars	Avril	Mai	Juin	Juillet	Août	Septembre	Octobre	Novembre	Décembre	TOTAL
1	Fièvre typhoïde (typhus abdominal)		1		2			1	1	3	2		1	11
2	Typhus exanthematique													
3	Fièvre et cachexie paludéennes													
4	Variole													
5	Rougeole		1											1
6	Scarlatine													
7	Coqueluche													
8	Diphtérie et croup	1												1
9	Grippe	1												1
10	Choléra asiatique													
11	Choléra nostras													
12	Autres maladies épidémiques		1						1					2
13	Tuberculose des poumons	5	8	3	3	1	4	5	3	4	1		3	39
14	Tuberculose des méninges			2	1	1								4
15	Autres tuberculoses			1	1	2	2	1			1			8
16	Cancer et autres tumeurs malignes	4	2	2	1	4	1			2		1	3	20
17	Méningite simple		2	4	1		1							8
18	Hémorragie et ramollissement du cerveau	4	2	2	1		1	3	3	1	4	1		22
19	Maladies organiques du cœur	2	5	2	6	3	3		1	4	2	2	5	35
20	Bronchite aiguë	2	1	1								1		5
21	Bronchite chronique											3	1	4
22	Pneumonie	5	7							1		2	1	16
23	Autres affections de l'appareil respiratoire (phtisie exceptée)	12	5	4	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2		34
24	Affections de l'estomac (cancer exceptés)										1			1
25	Diarrhée et entérite (au-dessous de deux ans)	1				1	1	1	2					6
26	Appendicite et typhlite													
27	Hernie, obstruction intestinale													
28	Cirrhose de foie		1	2	2					2			1	8
29	Néphrite aiguë et maladie de Bright	1			1	2							2	6
30	Accouchement, avortement, suites de couches, affections propres de la femme													
31	Septicémie puerpérale, fièvre puerpérale, phlébite puerpérale	1	2				1				1		1	6
32	Autres accidents puerpéraux de la grossesse et de l'accouchement													
33	Débilité congénitale et vices de conformation	1				1	1				1	1		5
34	Suicides			2	1	1		2	3	1	1			11
35	Morts violentes (suicides exceptés)	3	2		1	1			2			1	3	13
36	Sénilité	1	2	1	2	1		4	1	1				13
37	Autres maladies	4	5	5	6	3	1		1	5	2	3	2	37
38	Mort-nés (enfants nés viables décédés avant la déclaration)				2									2
39														
40														
	TOTAUX	49	47	37	32	23	17	19	19	25	18	12	22	319

PRINCIPAUTÉ DE MONACO
DIRECTION
du
Service d'Hygiène Publique

PHOTOGRAPHIC COPY OF THE MONACO DEATH RATI

graphically reproduced. It will be seen that they conform in every respect to the demographical rules internationally established. Thus statistics may be drawn up internationally on the same basis; and if Monaco could not produce and hold at the disposal of all countries the details of its death-rate, it would deserve exclusion from the pale of all civilised nations. How could the incidence, distribution, seasonal aspects of diseases be studied and known but for such statistics? Suicide, if not exactly a disease, is in any case epidemical. Even when Buckle wrote his "History of Civilisation in Europe," though demography was not then the science it has become to-day, he was able to deal at length with the statistics of suicides, showing the remarkable stability of this cause of death. Buckle points out that money troubles do not produce as many suicides as we might expect. After alluding to political and commercial excitement and stress he says:

"Nevertheless in this vast metropolis about 240 persons" (to-day it is more than 500) "every year make away with themselves; the annual suicides oscillating, from the pressure of temporary causes, between 266—the highest, and 213—the lowest. In 1846, which was the great year of excitement caused by the railway panic, the suicides in London were 266; in 1847 began a slight improvement, and they fell to 256; in 1848 they were 247; in 1849 they were 213 and in 1850 they were 229."

The Monaco death-rate for 1911 shows that there were 13 suicides out of a total of 319 deaths. This is indeed a very high figure. It does not quite amount to one suicide per day; all the causes of death put together did not produce one death per day; but the number of suicides was nevertheless distressingly high. Therefore the details must be carefully studied. First of all, how many were inhabitants who are not allowed to gamble and how many were foreigners who may have gambled?

The season when the great crowds come opens in October. But during that month and in November and December there was not a single suicide. During the other gambling months—January, February and March—there were only four suicides. Thus in the six most dangerous months, so far as gambling is concerned, there were only four suicides. If we refer back to the casino statistics given in a previous chapter it will be seen that whereas more than 6000 persons entered the gambling rooms in one day during the season, out of the season, on the 29th of August 1911, when a count was made, there were only 930 people in the rooms. It is not likely that there were more people in July; yet in that one month we had four suicides. This was really an epidemic of suicides. Thus one of the persons who committed suicide was a coachman, and his sister-in-law killed herself within a month.

The difficulty, of course, is to classify the suicides, and it must be confessed that this can only be done approximately, but that is precise enough for all practical purposes. To the public at large, acquainted only with the Monte Carlo suicide scare, the interest is limited to the number of gamblers who have killed themselves, therefore this category of suicides may be taken first. The January suicide in 1911 was that of a Russian, aged twenty-five years, evidently a gambler. Then came the very sad case of the Austrian gentleman, aged fifty-seven, and his wife, who both died together. This was in February. In March an Austrian commercial man, aged thirty-four, killed himself; and all these four cases were undoubtedly due to gambling. After that the calculation becomes more complicated. What shall be said of the domestic servant who committed suicide? She did not gamble. But she lent her hard-earned savings to her mistress, who promptly lost them all at roulette. In her despair the servant, not her gambling mistress, committed suicide. Is this non-gambler to be classified as a gambling suicide? Then there is the gardener. He was terribly worried by his wife, who complained that she was never well enough dressed. If the casino did not attract

so many beautifully dressed women to Monte Carlo, this gardener's wife might have been less anxious about her own appearance and would not have so worried her husband that he committed suicide by jumping off the rock at Monaco. Is this a suicide caused by the casino? Then in May another coachman killed himself; this surely was not due to the casino but probably to the competition of motor cars. Perhaps someone will agitate for their suppression because so many coachmen commit suicide. The August suicide was that of an Italian mason who was certainly never admitted to the casino; but in September an Austrian officer killed himself, and this again was undoubtedly a gambler's suicide. It seems that out of the thirteen suicides there were only five actual gamblers, and here a really alarming and serious question arises. The remaining eight suicides, occurring in a population of only 20,000 people, certainly constitute an exceptional figure. If anyone is absolutely determined to raise a cry concerning suicides there is the opportunity; only it has no direct connection with the casino crowd and the gambling.

The Penal Statistics issued by the Procurator-General give, for the ten years, 1898-1907, the number of suicides and attempted suicides at 106. There must have been very few of the latter, for suicide is not, as in England, a legal offence, so the courts have very rarely to deal with cases of attempted suicides. From the Procurator-General I obtained the following analysis of recent suicides. The dossier of each case was brought out of the archives with the following result:—In 1909, out of nine suicides three were persons living on their income, three domestic servants, one an engineer, one a mechanic and one a carpenter. Thus four deaths out of the nine may have been due to gambling. Of the nine, four were Italians, four French and one German. For 1910, of seven suicides whose dossiers were found—for there were nine in all, and twelve during the previous year—two were labourers, one was a doctor of medicine, one a journalist, one a merchant, one an accountant and one a coachman. Four out of

seven may have been victims of gambling. Five of them were Italians and two were French. They lived, four at Monaco, one at Beausoleil, one in Paris and one at Palermo.

For 1911 the demographical figures and the legal statistics agree, as they both show the maximum record of thirteen suicides in that one year. Of these, four were persons living on their income, four were labourers, three were employed by commercial houses, one was an officer and one worked at an hotel. With regard to nationality, four were Italian, four French, two Hungarian, two Russian and one Austrian. They lived, four in Monaco, three in Austria, one each at St Petersburg, Vienna, Milan, Paris, Toulon and Cap d'Ail.

During the first three months of 1912 there were a great many suicides. A street sweeper or scavenger took his own life, as did also a waiter at one of the hotels. There were two suicides about whom it was impossible to obtain any information, so they are registered as "unknown." There was also a man living on his income; five cases in all during three months, and three of these were doubtless due to gambling. It is, however, difficult to understand the meaning of all these figures unless we bring them to a point of comparison. Taking the average of ten years ending in 1908, the death-rate from suicide of the London population per annum was 0·11 per 1000. Since then, the figure fell for 1909 to 0·09. Trying to harmonise the official figures with the casino figures it is not possible to go farther back than 1909. Even then we must not count the first three months of that year, when there were no fewer than seven suicides, because the casino year begins on the 1st of April. From that date up to the 31st of March 1910 there were only five suicides. But we must take this figure so as to compare it to the 155,950 admittances to the casino during those twelve months. It gives us a death-rate from suicide, among the frequenters of the casino gaming-rooms, of 0·032 per 1000, admitting that all five suicides were due to gambling. This, however, is evidently an exceptional year.

From 1st April to 31st December 1910 we have nine suicides, of whom five may be counted as gamblers. Up to the 31st of March 1911 there were four more, all gamblers: 184,000 persons were admitted to the gaming-tables, of whom nine committed suicide, and this is equal to a death-rate of 0·049 per 1000. But what is really serious is that out of the 20,000 inhabitants who do not gamble, who are not admitted into the gaming-rooms, no fewer than four committed suicide. This means a death-rate of 0.2 per 1000 inhabitants, which is twice as high as the suicide death-rate of London. With all its vice, misery, drunkenness, squalor and overcrowding the metropolis has only half as many suicides per 1000 as prosperous Monaco. As for the gamblers, the Monte Carlo suicides, that is a comparatively unimportant matter, for they number only one out of every 22,444 persons admitted to the gambling saloons; but one out of every 5000 inhabitants who were not admitted killed himself.

For the year 1911-1912, calculated in the same manner, there were also thirteen suicides, of whom eight were probably gamblers. As 194,000 persons were admitted to the gaming saloons, this gives a proportion of 0·036 per 1000 gamblers and 0·26 per 1000 non-gamblers. In other words, one gambler out of 24,250 committed suicide and one out of 4000 non-gamblers. This is a startling discovery, particularly if the Monaco figures are compared with the London statistics. Why should there be twice as many suicides among the inhabitants of the principality who are not allowed to gamble as among the inhabitants of London? Here we have a much more important and serious matter than the question of the few gamblers who kill themselves. My first care, therefore, was to inquire whether any special cause existed in the principality, but most persons I consulted seemed to think it was the effect of the climate. In that case, the neighbouring Riviera towns must suffer in a similar manner. Therefore on reaching Paris I proceeded to consult one of the most prominent of French demographers,

Dr Bertillon, Chief of the Statistical Department for the town of Paris.

Dr Bertillon very kindly set to work to answer the question; and after consulting various documents and making numerous calculations we obtained the following figures:—

DEATHS FROM SUICIDE PER 1000 INHABITANTS

	1909	1910
Nice	0·291	0·343
Cannes	0·273	0·174
Grasse	0·099	0·147
Menton	0·230	0·230
Antibes	0·085	0·512
Toulon	0·326	0·375
La Seyne	0·263	0·153
Hyères	0·294	0·235
Paris	0·246	0·271
London	0·090	

At Monaco, for two years, the figures—putting the gamblers aside—were 0·200 and 0·260. This is absolutely similar to the above rates. Therefore the problem applies not only to Monaco but to Paris and the whole Riviera. It is, I repeat, well worth while inquiring why, in this most beautiful country, twice as many people kill themselves as in London?

As for the Monte Carlo crowd, belonging to the exceptionally fortunate and wealthy classes, it is obvious that they are not likely to commit suicide. But there is a certain number of persons who are in a mentally unhealthy condition, and there are others come here as a last resort before committing suicide. They are driven to suicide by what has occurred in their own business and home. As a forlorn hope, a last chance, they risk the little they possess on the tables. It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that sometimes—I fear not often, but sometimes—they may win. The man who is ruined and on the verge of bankruptcy may win enough to tide over the difficulty. Then it is not the casino that has caused a suicide but it

is the casino that has prevented a suicide. There are no statistics to record these cases, but they do exist.

The above calculations show that the death-rate among the Monte Carlo gamblers amounted to 0·049 per 1000 in the year 1910-1911 and to 0·036 per 1000 in the year 1911-1912. The casino is a joint-stock company run to secure dividends for its shareholders; and in doing so the result is that, on an average, 0·040 or 0·045 per 1000 of the people they attract commit suicide. This is very sad: no one defends gambling, it is a vice which all legislatures and reformers have desired to abolish. But if the dividends of the casino shareholders are blood-stained, we have not forgotten the coffin ships and the Plimsoll agitation, though we have allowed the Plimsoll line to be dangerously raised. We also know that by spending more money on inspection and inspectors the appalling loss of life in coal mines could be reduced; and the holocaust of railway servants would be considerably lessened if shareholders could be persuaded to sacrifice a small portion of their dividends to establish automatic couplings. Taking the Abstract of Labour Statistics issued by the Board of Trade it will be found that of 600,000 railway servants in the united kingdom, the number killed during the last sixteen years fluctuated from 372 to 631 annually. From 1895 to 1909, the killed or drowned among sailors has varied from the minimum annual casualty death-rate of 4·090 per 1000 to the maximum of 8·090. During the previous fifteen years the death-rate in the coal mines varied from 1·240 to 1·490 per 1000. But in 1910 there was a much greater number of fatal accidents among miners, no fewer than 1769 being killed. It has been calculated that on an average there is only four and a half days' work done in the coal mines per week. Therefore if we divide the number of killed by 234 days it will be seen that on an average 7 miners were killed on every working day. Thus about as many miners are killed in a single day as there are gamblers who commit suicide at Monte Carlo during an entire year.

By all means let us save this handful of gamblers if we can ; but without mentioning other dangerous occupations, it may possibly occur even to shareholders that the thousands of sailors, railway servants and miners annually sacrificed for the sake of dividends were more useful members of society than the gamblers who are feeble enough to destroy themselves. Therefore when the owners of mining property, the shareholders in railways and ships, talk indignantly about the suicides at Monte Carlo, they might also devote some of their energy to removing the blood-stains from their own dividends. The beam is not only in the Englishman's eye, it stands out large and threatening in the eye of the American and in that of all other commercial and industrial nations.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CASINO GARDENS

ON the receipts the casino makes we have seen that a good round sum is paid over to the prince, by whom it is used for the benefit, first of the principality, and then for the promotion of the arts and sciences to the advantage of the world at large. Thus all nations receive some return for the wealth they have brought to Monaco. But, apart from this, the casino itself also spends large sums in a manner that is of general advantage, so that all may, to some extent, participate in the extraordinary success achieved. One outlay of this description is the gardens, where far more is done than the mere necessities of ornamentation would suggest. Here are provided exceptional facilities for the study of horticulture and floriculture.

Of course it is "quite the proper thing" to speak highly of the casino gardens. If they are mentioned in commonplace conversation, the words "lovely," "very nice," "beautiful" will surely be heard. But how few persons, even when they employ superlative expressions of admiration, fully feel what they say, or in any way realise why these gardens deserve enthusiastic eulogium. But there are other more appreciative and thoughtful people, and they would be interested and more observant if they were only a little better informed. Perhaps one of the most delightful experiences in the casino gardens is to open conversation with a likely person and offer some explanation concerning the beauty, the history, the utility of one or more of the many surrounding horticultural

specimens. Such an experiment will generally prove that it is neither indolence nor incapacity, but merely ignorance, which prevents appreciation and a fuller enjoyment of the glories of nature that abound in the casino gardens. Even those who have no eye for colour nor admiration of form would be impressed if they knew what these gardens meant in the matter of forethought, preparation and organisation.

In front of the main entrance to the casino is one vast expanse of flowers. On either side and throughout the gardens there are numerous minor flower-beds. At all times, in all seasons, the flowers are fresh and in full bloom. It may be January or June—the flowers are not the same and their colours vary—but the flower-beds are always full, and it always seems to be the height of the season for one or the other of the many blossoms that grace these marvellous gardens. How do they all get there, and how many are required? They do not grow of their own accord, especially in mid-winter, nor do they march in and march out of the gardens each in due season. Every individual plant must be sown, nursed and carefully brought up till it has become a fully developed adult, capable of going out on duty. But the gardens are so vast, the changes of flowers so frequent, that a great organising genius alone could keep up a sufficient and constant supply.

After conscientiously clambering over the acres and acres of forcing grounds, then penetrating innumerable hothouses, and finally compiling statistical records, the problem assumed a character similar to that of the organisation of an army. What had Carnot to do when he created fourteen armies and "organised victory"? He did not bring into the field half as many soldiers as there are flowers required to occupy their allotted positions in the casino gardens, and certainly his soldiers were not as handsome and healthy as the flowers. Though doubtless Carnot joined his troops in singing the "Marseillaise," he did not provide for future generations of combatants to

enter "*dans la carrière quand nos ainés n'y seront plus.*"[1]

But the chief in command of the casino gardens has not only to occupy every strategic position all the year round, he must rear from their earliest infancy other forces ready to take the place of the veterans as they fall at their posts or grow old and weary. This gigantic undertaking is entrusted to Monsieur Jules van den Daele, Knight of the Order of Saint Charles, Officer of the Order of Agricultural Merit and member of several horticultural societies. For my part, anxious to render homage to so great a power of mobilisation and organisation, I felt inclined to confer on the casino's chief gardener the title of Field-Marshal; but if the work done is, in many respects, similar to that of a military command, the result, being wholly pacific, is infinitely preferable. Therefore it would not be correct to speak of Field-Marshal van den Daele; on the other hand, as a master organiser of living things he is fully entitled to be described as Flower-Marshal van den Daele. The principality offers no scope for the genius that would organise an army of warriors, but it has produced a very distinguished commander of an army of flowers, and this is necessary in a country where there are so many flower-lovers and such frequent battles of flowers.

Naturally the provision of flowers that can be exposed to the open air during the coldest months of winter is the greatest difficulty. For this purpose, 100,000 *Cyclamens* of the Persian variety are planted in August so that they may be ready for the forthcoming winter. With these, as with most of the other flowers, the finest specimens are not sent to the front, in what may well be described as the fighting line, but are kept at home for seed. Even in the fighting line—that is to say, in the casino gardens—some succour, some protection is occasionally provided. Just as soldiers throw up a trench to resist an eager foe; so do the gardeners, in the dark, when no one can see, come with

[1] To follow the career when our elders are no longer there.

hurdles, and various sorts of sheltering materials, to place round the flower-beds and ward off the frosty night air. All this is removed again before the return of daylight and the warm southern sun. Early, very early in the year, long before Primrose Day, an army of some 150,000 Chinese *Primulas* is moved forward, flanked by 40,000 *Primula obconica*. These wonderful primroses are of many colours. Some are actually a bright blue, others mauve, red, light and dark reds to rose and white. There is a yellow specimen from Kew Gardens which grows in storeys; this consists of a circle of flowers, then a piece of straight stem growing out of the centre, and at a higher level another circle of flowers; thus it may be said that some of these primroses are three or four storeys high. As for the ordinary field primrose, such as may be picked under the hedges in England, it would be of no use whatsoever, for it blooms far too late in the year.

For winter use, there are also a good many *Cinerarias*, and many specimens of these come from England. The leaves resemble somewhat those of the marguerite, and are of various tints, but there is one of a brick-red colour that shows up remarkably on the grass. It is named the Matador, perhaps because it recalls the sanguinary results of a Spanish bull-fight. Some of these plants have double flowers, and in number they equal an army corps—namely, 30,000. But these flowers mentioned, together with some 40,000 pinks and 10,000 rose-trees, only represent the "crack" regiments of the army. They are the picked troops, dressed in extravagant uniforms made with rich cloth of the brightest colours, ornamented with plenty of braiding. They are the regiments of the guard, the cavalry, the artillery and the scientific corps. The troops of the line, which are more modest, but often more useful, and always the most numerous, have not yet been mentioned. These comprise from 200,000 to 300,000 *Santonina*, a plant which has a silver-grey leaf, rather like that of the everlasting flower, and here it serves to outline flower-beds. Elsewhere it is used for medical

purposes. There is another medical plant, the familiar yellow camomile flower, which also helps in making designs. The largest contingent is that of the pansy. Of these there are many varieties, from quite a common little blue flower to large, velvet-like death's heads of mysterious colouring and weird expression. The line, as represented by the pansy, numbers from 400,000 to 500,000; but there are nearly as many daisies—namely, 300,000 to 400,000; and a further contingent of 200,000 to 300,000 *Pyrethrums*, or fever-few, used for designs in flowers. Thus the troops of the line may be estimated at 1,500,000, while the choice regiments number 390,000 rank and file. Flower-Marshal van den Daele has to supply the necessary sustenance to 1,890,000 small plants and flowers, and to constantly mobilise portions of this great army. Such a task needs an amount of prevision and organisation worthy of a Von Moltke.

Of course all the annual flowers can be displayed but once. The difference is that in an ordinary garden a flower would be made to last two months, here it is only utilised for a month, during the zenith of its power. But there are others constantly growing to take its place.

Some flowers can only serve in the gardens for a fortnight at a time. This is notably the case when they are in full bloom. Others may remain in position for a month or two, but all are changed at least five or six times in the year. It will be seen, therefore, that it is not only a question of bringing into healthy existence something like two million living things; but that these have to be constantly moved about. It is a vast army, reared on the hillside, where artificial shelter and heat is provided. Then constantly army corps are made up by selecting the most fit, and these are sent down to the fighting line—that is, the casino gardens. Here they are exposed to charges by trespassing dogs, to the bombardment of children's balls and playthings, and, still more fatal, to the chilly night air or the fierce mistral wind. In this contest many of the flowers are killed outright.

The amount of work all this implies renders it necessary to employ 150 gardeners. Many of the flowers have to be divided after they have begun to grow, and put into forcing ground, then into small pots, etc., and are thus transplanted four times before they are taken out to the gardens for ornamental purposes. The preparing of the earth is an expensive and complicated process. It is not the dry limestone rocks round the principality that can provide a suitable mould. This must be imported. A large quantity is collected from under the chestnut-trees in Corsica and is brought from the island in small sailing boats. The boats take seven to eight days to come over, and the trade is hardly likely to yield much profit. Other very good soil is obtained from heatherland, and is imported by rail or in carts. It must then be carried to the hillside where the casino nursery gardens rise in terrace after terrace, right away into French territory, up the valley of the *Moulin* torrent.

From the higher end or top of the casino garden, going eastwards, runs the main thoroughfare of this part of the principality. It is called the Boulevard des Moulins, and a little farther on a rivulet, which sometimes swells into a torrent, passes under this road. The water, though in the dry season but scant in volume, comes down from so great a height that it acquires sufficient velocity to turn the wheel of a water-mill. Here the olives gathered from the wild groves that covered the promontory now known as Monte Carlo were crushed and converted into oil. The wheel of the mill or *moulin* which gives its name to the quarter still remains overgrown with weeds; a green and grey memento of the sylvan simplicity and rural life that preceded the advent of the casino. Now, instead of sweet olive oil we have an appalling accumulation of foul linen; for on the farther or eastern side of the mountain stream a modern steam laundry has been erected. On the nearer side is the Villa des Roses, and here are the headquarters and the offices of M. van den

Daele. At one time M. van den Daele worked for M. Gintry of Ghent, the celebrated traveller and horticulturist. Their cultivations were so successful that some of the plants they sent to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878 were sold for as much as £320 each. In 1880, M. van den Daele was engaged to assist M. Forckel, at that time the chief gardener in the employ of the late Madame Blanc. The experience of Homburg had demonstrated the utility of possessing close at hand beautiful gardens, where fresh air and pleasant scenery could be enjoyed without going too far away from the allurements of the casino. From the very first, therefore, when the Monte Carlo casino was but in its infancy, expensive trees and plants were imported and flower-beds laid out. Just above the casino gardens, where to-day stand large hotels and houses, Madame Blanc had five hothouses built, and secured some of the rarest plants from Prince Demidoff's Palace of San Donato, near Florence. One of the hothouses was 60 feet high and 164 feet long, so that it might contain magnificent trees from tropical countries.

As a matter of fact, M. Forckel was a horticulturist, rather than a cultivator; and, as the figures given above indicate, rapid and extensive cultivation is needed to keep the casino gardens bright with flowers in full bloom. When, in 1880, M. van den Daele first came to Monte Carlo, he found the gardens in a shocking state of neglect. The scullerymen, after washing the plates and dishes at the Hôtel de Paris, were sent out to water the flowers. Ferns and other plants of great value withered up. It was a pitiful massacre. Some ferns are very costly, and grow to the size of trees. I remember seeing in one of Madame Blanc's hothouses a *Blechmun Brasillensis* with leaves that were more than six feet long. Gradually M. Forckel and M. van den Daele, working together, managed to get things in better order, but they always had the greatest difficulty in securing competent and willing assistants.

Before the advent of the casino, the local resources

were very restricted and the population correspondingly poor. Consequently, any opportunity of earning money would, it might be thought, be welcome; but the climate is antagonistic to hard work. Work was natural and well suited to Northerners such as M. van den Daele. The dwellers on the shores of the North Sea need work to keep themselves warm; and if they did not work they would starve, or the sea would overflow the dikes and drown them. It was all very well for men of the Flemish race to be eloquent about the virtues of and the necessity for work; but why should those who were born on the fruitful shore of the Mediterranean trouble themselves? Why not sit still, breathe the balmy air and enjoy life without further effort? But there are a few necessaries that have to be bought; this is acknowledged, and therefore a little work will be done so as to earn enough money to purchase indispensable articles. This, however, is not a sufficient reason to justify any strain or exhausting effort. How can life be enjoyable if it means fatigue and heat? Why should a poor man, quite content and happy in his poverty, bustle and hurry as if he had a chance of making a fortune or of receiving high pay? Let the rich and the well-paid harass themselves if they choose; but the poor southern labourer, who can live on a piece of bread and a little garlic, prefers to lie in the sun with his hat over his eyes and slowly breathe the balsamic air perfumed with thyme, myrtle, lavender and rose. Thus, while willing to do a little work now and then, the native has a natural objection to continuous toil. Therefore it has been necessary to import gardeners from without the principality, men from distant countries, where industrious habits are acquired because the conditions of existence are not so easy.

Some of the work needs very considerable muscular effort. This is notably the case in lifting and transporting the larger plants, such as ornamental palm-trees. Now that the gardens have been under cultivation for more than thirty years some very rare and handsome trees

have attained great height and size. Younger trees, still kept in pots, are conveyed to ornament banqueting halls, concert-rooms, theatrical representations, etc. Providing floral decorations for various functions implies a great deal of hard work. For the young trees it is a terrible experience, and a large hospital has had to be constructed to receive these victims of the Monte Carlo dissipations. In the hospital they are protected from the excessive heat of direct rays of sunshine and from the wind. The branches which have been wounded are amputated, and plants may have to be tenderly nursed for a year, sometimes two years, before they are presentable again. Most of the smaller trees are worth only 4s. or 5s. each; but a good-sized palm may cost from £12 to £16. A palm is much dearer in a tub than in the earth. A fan-palm, from ten to twelve years old, if in good condition, might sell for £35 when in a tub. But it would have attained its actual dimensions some years sooner if it had been allowed to grow in the earth. Plants, like wine, become more valuable the longer they are kept.

In the excitement of the ballroom, or while cheering the toasts at a banquet, how few persons think that the ornamental plants around them are fighting the greatest battle of their lives. Tortured by an unnatural light, poisoned by unwholesome heat and a noxious atmosphere, bruised by blows, their branches and leaves snapped and broken by the pressure of crowds of unsympathetic, thoughtless people, how many of these plants survive? The loss of life in the course of a season is put down at some 30 per cent., and it really is questionable whether the ornamental effect produced is worth the sacrifice. To arrange cut flowers on a table seems not unnatural; they make a beautiful decoration, and in any case would not have lived much longer. But to place a palm-tree in the middle of a table is unnatural. Palms do not grow on dining-room tables, nor are they intended to be squeezed up against the wall at the end of a ballroom. However, there is a demand for that sort of thing, therefore vast

hothouses and floral hospitals have to be maintained by the casino gardeners to provide for this costly exaction of modern fashion, but they do no trade. If the casino gives a ball or a banquet, they provide flowers for decorations. If a private person or an hotelkeeper gives a banquet, they get flowers from the numerous trading horticulturists to be found in the principality.

At best, a big tree in a little pot is but a poor thing, and nowhere can this be better realised than in the casino gardens themselves. Of all the luxuries to be enjoyed at Monte Carlo none can excel the magnificent exotic and costly trees that flourish in these gardens. If anyone wants a sure system of winning at every spin of the roulette, let him go and revel in the gardens. Counting the small flowers and the large trees we have seen that some two million plants are displayed for him to enjoy during the course of a single year. So long as the visitor abstains from playing he will have won all this; a good prize, surely, and a perfectly safe system. In the summer, when the casino windows are open, the chink of the silver and gold can be heard in the gardens. The botanist, the horticulturist, even the simple visitor who possesses no technical knowledge, but appreciates colour and form, who loves nature, can sit in the pure, perfumed air and feast his eyes on the beautiful scene, while the rattle of coin sounding from the overheated gaming-rooms reminds him that others are paying for his enjoyment. Indeed, it is so obvious that the true and absolutely certain system of winning at Monte Carlo is not to play at all, that there are a good many people who do not care to play, who are in no wise gamblers, and who yet throw a few pieces on the table just "for the good of the house." These are visitors who (like the admirable and public-spirited citizens that send conscience-money to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, fearing they have not been charged enough income-tax), feel it is hardly fair to come and enjoy everything without contributing towards the expenses. Therefore, they try to lose a few pieces on the

tables. It would be interesting to know what such persons feel when they fail to lose.

The charm of the gardens does not depend only on their beauty, but also, and especially, on the fact that though we are still in Europe, and quite near to the northern parts of Europe, we have here semi-tropical and even tropical trees and shrubs. That the date of the palm-tree never ripens sufficiently to render it fit for eating shows, however, that the tree is not indigenous to the soil. On the other hand, there is a passage in Bouche's "Histoire de Provence," which might be cited to prove that the palm and other trees are of native growth. This historian relates that King Henry IV., having slept at the Château d'Hyères, set forth on the following morning, which was Sunday, the 29th of October 1564, to examine the palm, orange and pepper trees that grew in the neighbourhood. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were, however, no palm-trees on the French Riviera. In the early part of last century the first palm-trees were planted at Hyères. Throughout Andalusia the Moors had introduced their favourite trees; doubtless, they did the same on the French Riviera, and some of their plantations may have survived when Hyères was visited by Henry IV.

Hyères is the oldest of the health resorts. It was popular as a winter station before Cannes and Nice had been discovered, and when Monaco and Menton were utterly unknown. Hyères also was one of the first places where a trade was created in early fruits, vegetables and the making of horticultural experiments. The palm-trees, successfully raised on the Place des Palmiers, helped to advertise Hyères in so profitable a manner that now wherever on the coast-line attempts are made to attract foreign visitors, the first step taken is to grow palm-trees. The eucalyptus or Australian blue gum-tree was also found to be an excellent advertising medium. Shortly after the Crimean War, one of the most celebrated horticulturists of Hyères, M. Dellor, at that time a partner of the

renowned firm of Huber & Company, attempted to cultivate the eucalyptus, but it was not appreciated. Some ten years later, in 1864, M. Ramel returned to Hyères from a journey to Australia, where he had made the acquaintance of Herr von Müller, director of the Melbourne Botanical Garden, and he brought a collection of eucalyptus seeds and plants. By that time some knowledge had gained ground concerning the sanitary properties of the tree; so that M. Ramel succeeded where M. Dellor had failed, and he soon became known as "*Le Père de l'Eucalyptus.*"

The tree grows very rapidly. It contains a large quantity of volatile oil which, like the resin of the fir-tree, is a source of ozone. While it helps to purify the atmosphere, the roots spreading fast and far dry up damp and marshy soil. It has been observed that when planted in districts where malaria prevailed, the presence of the eucalyptus-trees checked the progress of the disease. The oil of the eucalyptus, as a powerful antiseptic and disinfectant, is often preferred to carbolic acid, since it does not produce local irritation, and is not poisonous. To have so valuable a tree growing in abundance close at hand is an advantage for which we should all gratefully recall the names of M. Dellor and M. Ramel. But though abounding throughout the neighbourhood, the eucalyptus is disappearing from the principality. Perhaps the trees take up too much room; besides, their roots will soon force their way through the foundations of a wall and endanger any neighbouring structure.

From the very first, great efforts were made to cultivate palm-trees in the casino gardens, and it was rightly thought that they were especially suited to decorate the celebrated terraces that overlook the sea. Unfortunately the salt sea-winds that sweep these terraces were not at all suitable for the palms. There they remained much as they were when planted, looking picturesque, but refusing to grow, and soon showing decided signs of decrepitude. Now, poor things, they are coaxed and cajoled into prolonging their irksome life. Waistbands

round their trunks with wires cunningly attached, hold the trees up, so that in spite of themselves they are obliged to continue the struggle for existence; but if they were left alone they would soon lie down, glad to leave this weary world. Yet apart from these, the earliest trees planted, which figure in all the first and traditional views of the casino terraces, the other trees, and even the palm-trees, have prospered exceedingly. Something had been learnt by experience, and the gardens are sheltered from the sea-wind by the casino buildings themselves. As a result, we have not only the date-palm, but very fine and lofty cocoanut-trees. There are the *cocos datil*, the *cocos flexuosa* and the *cocos romanzoffiniana*, which attain a height of from 30 to 40 feet. Indeed there is a date-palm that is almost 50 feet high, but it is not on the terrace overlooking the sea. The *phœnix canariensis* is distinguished by its plentiful foliage, and is not supposed to be very tall; yet there is one palm of this species that is 33 feet high, and a *phœnix spinosa* stands to the height of 30 feet.

Some of the *chamærops* have developed to formidable proportions; but for size and robust appearance it would be difficult to excel the indiarubber-trees. One of these is particularly worthy of attention. It is not only a magnificent tree, for it measures some 80 feet in circumference and 60 feet in height, but it seems to convey an object lesson in the duties of family life. After leaving the casino, the visitor will find it on the right-hand side about half way up the garden. The blue metallic label standing in front will inform the attentive observer that the tree is a *ficus Roxburghii*. On examination, it will at once be seen that the tree has several stems. In the centre there is obviously the parent trunk, and round it several younger ones. Then, on looking up, it will be noticed that some of the lower branches are letting down a strange sort of growth. This is neither twig nor branch. It does not stretch forth as leaves and branches do, so as to get as much light, air and rain as they can

catch; but on the contrary it points straight downward, as if determined to reach the earth. This, indeed, is its object. When the larger branches of the tree, which may well be considered as the elder children of the family, begin to feel that their parent trunk is weakening with age, they come to the rescue. Instead of using all their youthful vitality to grow more twigs and more leaves, and thus secure the largest share possible of life's enjoyment, they devote at least some of their strength to producing woody fibre which, growing downward, will ultimately reach the ground. Taking root there, this growth from the branch will develop into an auxiliary stem to stand by, strengthen and support the parent trunk, and thus prolong the life of the entire family, while giving at the same time a magnificent example of filial duty and gratitude.

Higher up on the same side of the garden, near a kiosk where nurses and children generally find shelter, there is another scene in which the plants offer an example less worthy of imitation. It is a dramatic illustration of the struggle for life, a real fight between two formidable plants. On one side there stands, proudly erect, a date-palm from Africa, *phœnix dactilifera* by name. At some distance, but near enough, there is a cactus from Mexico justly named after the serpent; it is the *cereus serpentinus cactées.* But it is not one serpent, it is a cluster of serpents, suggesting the avenging furies, the head of the Medusa. These many serpents, like the arms of an octopus, have thrown themselves upon the palm-tree. Some encircle the trunk low down near the root; others stretch out and reach as high up as possible; the majority take the medium course of striking the nearest point where they can get firm hold. It is quite clear they will not spare the tree, and it is difficult to see what defence the palm can offer against its numerous persistent and thorny aggressors.

Close to this singular scene on the other side of the path there is a very rare banana, the *strelitzia Augusta.*

THE INDIAN RUBBER-TREE'S EXAMPLE OF FILIAL DUTY

No. 1. THE BRANCHES OF AN ADULT TREE BREAKING TO PROTECT THE PARENT TRUNK

No. 2. AN OLD TREE WELL PROTECTED BY THE AUXILIARY TRUNKS PROVIDED BY THE BRANCHES

But the leaves unfortunately are much spoilt and torn by the wind. Facing the kiosk to which allusion has been made, and therefore also close at hand, are two splendid and gigantic *cereus validus cactes* from South America. These were secured from the Villa Walewski by M. van den Daele himself. Both were cut from the same parent plant, and now they have been growing in the open for twenty-eight years. They are undoubtedly the most perfect specimens on the whole Riviera. It is marvellous to see how this cactus stands upright in spite of its great height, and the absence of any kind of support. It has large and numerous red fruits growing from the dark green stem. But for their oval shape, they might be taken for billiard balls, and it appears that the inside is edible; sweet and glutinous, it might make good jam. Quite different from this flavour is that of an insignificant shrub behind a bench facing the entrance of the Palais des Beaux Arts. It has angry but concealed thorns that surprise and attack the hands of the investigator. But if, nevertheless, one of the little seed pods can be secured, squeezed and tasted, it will be discovered that the shrub belongs to the cayenne pepper variety. Not only are there many specimens of trees from far-off and tropical countries, but these have been so skilfully grouped that there are certain points of view where European vegetation seems to have entirely disappeared. Here tropical scenery is enjoyed without the inconveniences of a tropical climate. The arrangement is wonderful, and anyone with some powers of imagination could sit on this spot and dream dreams of the Orient for hours together.

Perhaps the most remarkable group of trees is that which stands between the casino and the side of the Café de Paris. Here there is a *chamærops Martiana* which is of the greatest technical interest. To the ordinary observer it appears smaller and not so imposing as many other *chamærops* to be seen all along the Riviera, yet there is none so big elsewhere and it is a unique specimen in Europe. Two other similar trees exist, one at Lyons and

another at Kew Gardens, but both are in hothouses, not in the open air as at Monte Carlo. This special sort of *chamærops* comes from the Himalaya mountains. Near to it there are other rare trees, the *cocas Romanzoffiana*; the *Brahea Roezli*, with its beautiful blue-tinted leaves; and the enormous leaves of the *Sabal umbraculiera* are rarely seen to such perfection as in this little cluster of trees, placed just where everybody passes, and yet so little noticed.

Twice a year, in February and March, there is a show of plants and flowers at the Palais des Beaux Arts. The number of people who pay to go to these shows proves that there is a considerable public interested in the subject. Abroad, at the various exhibitions, the casino sends specimens from its gardens and generally carries off a prize. This was notably the case at Paris, Brussels, Florence, etc. At Monte Carlo, in the gardens, Germans take notes, go over and over again the same ground and read the labels at the foot of the plants. The Englishman passes with the haughty indifference of his self-ascribed superiority. He has seen nothing, he has learnt nothing, but then he is an Englishman. The posts vacant for scientific work in different parts of the world, and a good many in England itself, are being filled by Germans. Therefore we ought to build more Dreadnoughts and carry out an extensive measure of Tariff Reform. The fact of the matter is we ought to go to school, and this is the lesson I learnt from strolling about in the casino gardens

The Chamerops Martiana from the Himalayas; only specimen growing out of doors in Europe

The Mexican Serpent Cactus attacking an African Date Palm

The Casino Gardens

CHAPTER XIV

MONTE CARLO OPERA, ORCHESTRA AND STAGE SCENERY

WHEN the negotiations took place for the renewal of the monopoly enjoyed by the casino, Prince Albert I. seized the occasion to convert the theatre into a public service. So far as the casino and its patrons were concerned, any sort of performance was good enough. But the prince explained, and laid great emphasis on his declarations, that he was determined the theatre should not be an attraction organised merely for the purpose of bringing gamblers to Monaco. It must be an institution that rendered service to the cause of art, apart from commercial or casino interests. In carrying out this idea the prince thought he had been most fortunate in discovering and bringing forward Mr Gunsbourg. He was, the prince declared, a real genius. In a week or a fortnight he would put on the stage an opera which, in Paris, would take six months to prepare. Then the prince had gathered around him composers, notably Massenet, who wrote operas expressly for the Monte Carlo theatre ; operas and artists were thus brought out for the first time and launched into fame. In this manner, a real service was being rendered to the cause of art, and those who were proficient in their art could hope for recognition and reward at Monte Carlo.

When the theatre was used mainly as an advertisement for the casino, no endeavour was made to bring out new talent. On the contrary, that which was, if not old, at least well established and popular paid best as a means of attracting people. The Monte Carlo theatre strove to engage the best-known performers. This was, to some

extent, the crowning of their career, rather than their *début*. But, even at first, the casino theatre did a great deal in creating new operas and increased the possibility of success in such creations by employing well-recognised talent. Now the production of new singers, of unknown but able performers, has been added to the programme. To-day the object is to be useful even at the risk of an occasional failure. Twenty years have now elapsed since Mr Gunsbourg became Director of the Monte Carlo Opera, and he has made it the rival of Paris and Berlin, of London and New York. As often as not, it is Monte Carlo that leads in the creation of new operas and new singers. Therefore composers and singers now look to Monte Carlo as the road to fame and fortune. Then it is not only the new that is brought into life, but the old and forgotten that is revived. For instance, in 1903 we had the revival, on a most splendid and lavish scale, of Massenet's *Hérodiade*. A masterpiece that had lain dormant for twenty years was so rendered by Calvé, Tamagno and Renaud, surrounded by such majestic, beautiful scenery and accompanied by the perfect orchestration we always enjoy when Jehin leads, that the faded laurels revived and the forgotten opera became popular again.

Among the great singers who owe their reputation to their early success at Monte Carlo the renowned Caruso stands first. Gunsbourg's greatest discovery, however, is Chaliapine. According to Mr H. Villiers Barnett, who had followed so closely all these developments and describes them, step by step, in *The Continental Weekly*, Chaliapine is the mightiest artist in opera of this age. It was nine years ago now that he revealed himself by his terrific rendering of Mefistofele in Boïto's opera. This he followed by proving himself a perfect actor when personifying the old madman in *Roussalka*. He then showed that the part of King Lear would not be beyond his understanding of insanity. More recently, and after his reputation had been thoroughly established, Don

Quixote and Ivan the Terrible were his great creations. *Don Quixote*, like Massenet's other operas, *Thérèse* and the *Jongleur de Notre Dame*, were first produced, not in Paris, but at Monte Carlo, though Massenet held the first rank among the living French composers of music.

While these important novelties were pressed forward, the Italian opera, whether old or new, was not neglected.

With splendour and every necessary accompaniment, the operas of Donizetti, Rossini or Bellini were heard, as also those of Puccini, Leoncavallo and Mascagni. To return to France, Gounod's *Faust*, Bizet's *Carmen*, and Reyer's *Salammbo* were given, with a revival of Offenbach's *Contes d'Hoffmann* and Berlioz's *Damnation de Faust*. Indeed the three *Fausts* were heard in one season—namely, the operas composed on this theme by Gounod, Boïto and Berlioz. For many of these operas new scenery, a totally new conception of scenery, was invented. The wonderful results achieved are attributed to Mr Gunsbourg's special genius.

In fairness, however, it must be recorded that there is a good deal of animosity displayed against Mr Gunsbourg. Time and opportunity have failed me, and I cannot profess to know more than that in some cases such hostility seems due to racial and religious prejudices rather than to any real reason based on knowledge of art. Such opponents urged that, considering the enormous amount of money spent, better results could be obtained. The successes achieved are due, they argue, not to any special ability on the part of the general manager, but to the fact that each section is so admirably organised. It is only necessary to say what is needed and it is forthcoming. Then there is this sovereign reason, that the want of money never stands in the way. If in the scenery department 300 yards of canvas are required it is supplied at once and without a question. At an ordinary theatre or opera, the scenery department would be told to so exercise their ingenuity as to manage with 200 yards, or at the very most 250 yards. At Monte Carlo, where

the prince pays the stars and the casino the ordinary staff, there is no need to strive to do things cheaply, and therefore success is easier to attain. Opinions, I found, were much divided. Some said the result was not commensurate with the resources and that Mr Gunsbourg was only a heaven-born genius in that he knew how to avail himself of other people's talents. This, however, is surely just the very form of ability the director of an opera house must possess.

To put the case from the other side, Mr H. Villiers Barnett, who ought to know, thus describes Mr Gunsbourg:

"His mastery consists in consummate comprehensive stage management. Comprehensive. Not management of only personal details, but management of the whole presentation. He sees it *as* a *whole*; handles it as a whole; inspires and harmonises all its parts with one high purpose. There can be no doubt as to what that purpose is. It is the impulsion of all the elements of the representation towards a complete intense unity of splendid and artistic expression. It is the co-ordination of all the material factors and the inspiration of all the personal factors into one idea. It is Wagner's theory of opera in action."

All this praise notwithstanding, a good general needs good soldiers. Therefore it seemed necessary to inquire how some of the more important sections are organised and, from the very first, the casino was distinguished for its orchestra. The casino had not been in existence twenty years when already the orchestra numbered eighty picked instrumentalists, and was considered at least equal, if not superior, to that of the London Covent Garden Opera House. At that time there were generally two concerts a day, free to all who chose to enter and occupy one of the comfortable stalls in the sumptuous theatre Charles Garnier had built. Twenty years ago theatrical representations or an opera were looked upon as exceptional attractions; whereas to-day,

in the season, such performances occur several times in the week. It is only in the summer, when the crowds have left, that the old state of things is restored, and the visitors and general public can enjoy gratuitously the daily concerts.

The recruiting of the orchestra has been steadily improved till it has reached the highest degree of perfection. Formerly musicians were engaged because they had recommendations, and of course because they were considered skilled in their art. Now introductions, patronage, recommendations are of no use. The best talent available is secured by means of competitive examinations. As an example, that will be appreciated by musicians, of the severity of the tests applied, the following is the precise text of an announcement issued :—

"MONTE CARLO, 20 *March* 1911.

"A competitive examination for the post of *Second Trumpet and Piston* in the orchestra of the Casino of Monte Carlo will take place on the 20th of April next, at 9 in the morning.

"*Conditions of the Competition.*

"1. The candidate shall not be more than thirty years of age.
"2. Shall have been employed at a concert or theatre in a town of importance from the musical point of view.
"3. Shall, when necessary, be able to play the trumpet in *fa*.
"4. Shall show his birth certificate."

M. Sainte-Marie, who is now the chief organiser and archivist of the orchestras and choruses, assured me that by means of such competitions they were really collecting together a truly marvellous orchestra. M. Camille Blanc, whom he characterised as a great genius, had insisted

that it was necessary to have the very best in the world. To attain this end the first step was to efface all frontier lines. Perfection could only be international. The present improved system of recruiting was instituted in 1909, and is unique. It gathers the best from every nation, and the most careful record is kept, following every performer step by step in his career. Nor is this a matter of difficulty. The reputation of the Monte Carlo orchestra stands so high that any musician fortunate enough to be engaged by the casino could always easily obtain employment elsewhere. To have played in the casino orchestra is in itself a first-class certificate. Thus all are eager to come, be it only for a season, but it does not often happen that a musician wants to leave, particularly as in so doing he would lose his claim to a pension. The rule is that after a service of 25 years the employee may retire, and will receive a pension equal to 25 per cent. of his highest salary. If he works for 30 years his pension will be equal to 30 per cent., and so on according to the number of years of service given, on condition that it does not amount to less than 25 years. Should one of the employees wish to leave before the end of the 25 years, if he can show good reason why he should do so he may obtain an indemnity in recognition of his services, but he has no positive claim. If, on the other hand, he is dismissed before the expiration of the 25 years through no fault of his own, but because the administration wishes to make some alteration, and no longer needs his services, he is given three months' full salary and the same pension as if he had served the full 25 years. Such are the regulations, which not only help to secure an excellent staff of musicians, but also prevent frequent changes of its members.

In 1911 the chorus consisted of eighty-five singers. There was also a general chief or chorus-master, assisted by two leaders or teachers, and a stage or general manager. The chorus numbered forty-four women and forty men, and it is curious to note the great variety of nationalities

they represented. There were nineteen French women, twelve Italians, four Swiss, three Russians, two Belgians, one German, one English, one American, and one Spanish. The men, however, did not include so many different nationalities. There were twenty Italians, eighteen Frenchmen, two Belgians and one native Monegasque. Some of these singers have been distinguished by orders and decorations. Thus Madame Ida Saury wears the purple ribbon as Officer of the Academy. A tenor has received the *Médaille du Travail*, a French decoration founded to reward industry and labour; and three male choristers have been honoured by the Russian Government with the Order of Nicholas II.

The orchestra is much more numerous; and this is all the more necessary as of late years it has been split up into several minor orchestras. Nevertheless it would be wrong to abandon the term Monte Carlo Orchestra. It still remains a unity, and a unity of world-wide renown. But to-day, as there are no less than 156 performers, they do not all perform together. Consequently there is the grand orchestra that plays in the large theatre and consists of 110 musicians. Of these eight are detached to form a "septuor" which occasionally plays of an afternoon in the atrium. It seems an anomaly to have eight musicians to constitute a septuor, but, however wrong this may be, it is nevertheless a fact, and those who hear the music readily forgive the inaccurate terminology. The orchestra at the Palais des Beaux Arts, where light operettas are often performed, consists of twenty performers. The celebrated Concert Louis Ganne, given in the new part of the casino, has also twenty instrumentalists. Finally there is a small string band of six performers at the Sporting Club. But it is proposed that all these scattered orchestras should be occasionally gathered together, and a grand concert given which would unite the whole 156 instrumentalists.

Of the members of the orchestra it is perhaps the seven pianists who have the most to do; not that their

performances in public are more arduous than those of any other musician, but their services are constantly needed for rehearsals of all sorts, including ballet dancing. They also help in the teaching. Then there are two musical prompters, one prompts in Italian and the other in French. This is a difficult and responsible work, and to get efficient service a good salary has to be paid. Of the 105 principal members of the orchestra, fifty are French, twenty-seven Italian, twenty Belgians, seven Monegasques, and one Russian. Among these performers no fewer than sixty-three are laureates, or have won the first prizes at the principal conservatoires of music, of France, Italy or Belgium. As over and above these distinctions two of them are *Officiers de l'Instruction Publiques*, and thirteen *Officiers de l'Académie*, it may well be said that the Monte Carlo orchestra has fully earned the respect and admiration of all musicians. These artists are well paid, better paid than elsewhere; on the other hand, they have no other resources. In a large town they would have pupils or would be invited to play or sing in private houses, and thus obtain occasional fees. At Monte Carlo there are no such opportunities, and therefore there is nothing to anticipate beyond the salary paid. But the engagements are not always for the whole year. In the summer-time the orchestra is reduced to seventy performers, with only one chief and two sub-chiefs. The ballet dancers, numbering forty in all, are also only engaged for six months in the year.

It will have been noticed that, in this international assembly of musicians, the English play but a poor part. In 1911 there was just one Englishwoman in the chorus: but there used to be an Englishman in the orchestra and he was first violin. This was Mr Gatermoole, and he served for twenty years. He was a typical Englishman in appearance, but far from British in manners. His ideal was not that of glorious isolation. He did not stand haughtily aloof from his colleagues, but on the contrary he excelled in uniting perfect courtesy with exuberant

wit, and thus always contrived to put everyone in a good humour. He used to live at Cap d'Ail and ride backwards and forwards to the casino on a bicycle, often coming to grief, and having to mend his bicycle on the roadside. As he was always in full evening dress these accidents had a grotesque aspect which his fellow-workers hugely enjoyed. But the solitary Englishman in the Monte Carlo orchestra took everything in such good part, and contributed so largely to the merriment and friendly feeling prevailing among the staff, that he was dearly loved by all, and to this day his memory is recalled in regretful and affectionate terms.

The principal leader of the orchestra, M. Léon Jehin, has acquired a world-wide fame. He was born at Spa in Belgium, as far back as 1850; but still remains vigorous, full of life and good humour. His musical education he owes to the Brussels Conservatoire, where he won the laureateship for harmony and the violin. He first conducted a band at Antwerp, and in 1883 was the chief conductor of the Brussels opera house, the *Théâtre de la Monnaie*. At the same time he was Professor of Harmony at the Brussels Conservatoire. After leading orchestras in many places, including Covent Garden, London, he ultimately settled at Monte Carlo, where there is such a fertile field for his abilities. Here he not only led the orchestra, but composed much music, notably the orchestration for Gunsbourg's *Le Vieil Aigle* and *Ivan le Terrible*, which recently caused so profound a sensation. Massenet said, in regard to this latter opera, that it is fine, true and new. To M. Léon Jehin's never-ceasing vigilance is due the success of the Monte Carlo orchestra. It is not the individual capacity of players that makes an orchestra, it is the power of holding them together; and at Monte Carlo they play all things, from the severely classical to the galloping clang and clash of the Racoczy March. But, to my mind, the best of it all is that they play the compositions of utterly unknown and young composers. Indifferent as to school, nationality or renown, if a

musician of genuine merit approaches M. Léon Jehin he will get a sympathetic hearing and a chance given to step into fame.

Of course there is acting as well as singing and dancing on the Monte Carlo stage. The Russian ballet owes much of its European popularity to the renown it won at Monte Carlo. All the best French dramas and comedies have been rendered at Monte Carlo; and this, with the opera, creates the need for an immense amount of stage scenery and property. How this is provided consequently becomes a matter of great importance, so I started on a journey of exploration.

Close to the Monte Carlo railway station, just behind the hotel terminus, there is a large and curious building. It is certainly not a dwelling, nor is it a theatre, or a meeting-place. There are but few windows, and the doors are not numerous, but large and peculiar in shape. This is a quiet part of the principality; very few people have occasion to pass this way, and probably not one in a hundred visitors to Monte Carlo has noticed the odd big building in question. The only indication it bears is a monogram showing that it is part of the casino property. Obviously it is a new structure. It is equally clear that the public has no business there, for there is no inscription showing which is the entrance door, or who is within, and what is done there. It is certainly very mysterious, and its interior does not belie its outward appearance. At what seemed to be the main entrance, I could make no impression whatsoever; but down the side, and near to what looked like the back of the building, there was another exceptionally large door, with a very little door cut into one of the panels. The little door I contrived to open, and penetrated at once into a vast expanse where there was hardly any light, no sound, no movement. In the foreground I perceived a fireman asleep in a chair. Behind him rose the prow of a gallant though antique sailing ship. The mast, it is true, was of doubtful strength, and the rigging scarce

THE MONTE CARLO OPERA: A SCENE FROM GUNSBOURG'S "IVAN THE TERRIBLE"

fit to assist in weathering a storm. It was consequently not so surprising to find that the stern of the ship had been completely wrenched off. Nevertheless this was meant to be the identical vessel on which Vasco da Gama sailed when he fell in love with *L'Africaine*. The good ship, however, was not storm-tossed. It had lost its way in the streets of a modern town inhabited by Egyptian gods and goddesses who seemed to have kicked over in a heap a miscellaneous collection of Gothic and Louis-Quinze furniture, and were now contemplating, with placid looks, dusty, painted, cardboard imitations of fruit contained in golden urns placed on a deserted banqueting-table. Luckily the fireman was slow in awakening, so I had a little time to take in this unusual scene before being called upon to explain my presence.

M. Visconti, the fireman stated, was at the very top of the big building. There I should also find light coming from the roof, a good light for work. Downstairs the illumination was artificial, it was meant to imitate, in the daytime, the conditions prevailing at night in a theatre; therefore windows were not needed, and hence the strange appearance of the building when viewed from the outside. It was consequently right at the top, under a splendid light from the roof, that I found M. Visconti hard at work. Here all was bustle and labour, contrasting sharply with the sleepy gloom and vast vacant space of the ground floor. But at times the space below was of the greatest use. Nowhere else in the world is there so perfect a studio for painting stage scenery. The studio measures 76½ yards in length, 15½ yards in width. It is divided into three storeys, the lower or ground floor being as lofty as the stage of the casino theatre. At Monte Carlo the largest scene is 40 feet long and 33 feet high. In all there are 1291 square feet available, and in that part of the studio where I saw the ship is a stage exactly the same size. But there is not only the stage, there are all the lights of both before and behind the curtain. Thus the scenery can be put up under exactly the same con-

ditions of illumination. Here also the wonderful luminous effects that M. Eugène Frey has introduced can be rehearsed. With the use of powerful lanterns, M. Frey produces illusions which could not otherwise be obtained except with great trouble and cost, and then perhaps not with sufficient rapidity.

That everything can be done here and fully tested under realistic conditions is of the greatest importance, for it is often absolutely impossible to make any trials or experiments at the theatre itself. During the season there are rehearsals in the morning, and the play or opera in the evening, leaving no time to experiment with new scenery. The difficulty is that the plays or operas have to be changed every evening. Consequently it is necessary to have an enormous stock of scenery in readiness and accessible. For this a system of sorting, of cataloguing, and of marking has to be devised, so that all the scenery of a piece can be promptly found and brought out without the slightest omission. But nowhere else are such conveniences provided for the work. Behind the imitation stage there is room for the storing of a very large quantity of scenery, and the task of preparation and organisation is greatly facilitated by the fact that every department of the work is done on the premises. At Paris and elsewhere a certain amount of the work is given out. Thus the furniture may be made in one place and the scenery painted in another. There is consequently much time lost in running to and fro, and it is much more difficult to push all the branches forward simultaneously. Here everything is done under the one roof, it is all centralised under one management, and therefore all that is needed is ready at the same time. Nor is there any other studio where scene painters work with such ease. Unlike many other workshops, this establishment, in spite of its three storeys and vast dimensions, is heated throughout. There is a boiler with an engineer in charge ; and in case anything should go wrong there is also a fireman always on the premises. The fireman slumbers while the fire smoulders,

but there is no knowing when both may suddenly awake.

M. Visconti is a pupil of M. Lavastre, the great Parisian scene painter, and most of the artists he employs are Parisians. In all, forty assistants are engaged here, and there is enough work to be done to keep them employed all the year round. A scene is always begun by an ordinary drawing. A simple picture is made of a forest, a palace, or whatever it may be the author desires to put on the stage. When this painting is considered satisfactory, and is accepted, the next process is to divide the picture into the back and the wings. This is called the *marquette*. It is very carefully drawn to scale. Then comes the execution, life-size. The canvas for the scenery is laid down on the floor under the skylights. But the sunlight is sometimes too bright, so there is an elaborate arrangement for drawing differently tinted blinds over the panes of glass to suitably modify the intensity and colour of the light. There are also rows of electric burners, so that should the natural light fail, or should it be necessary to work at night, electricity may make up for this deficiency. Twelve first-class and ten second-class artists are employed to do the painting. The canvas used is daubed over with a material called *inifuge*, which is supposed to prevent its catching fire; but the impression is that it wears off in about three years, and that no thoroughly practical means has yet been discovered to render scenery non-inflammable. More faith is placed in strict watch and prompt action when there is a fire than in materials that are supposed to be non-combustible and are yet sufficiently light to be conveniently handled.

Needless to say the scenery is as realistic as possible. Thus I chanced to come upon a grass lawn rolled up in a corner. It was not a mere canvas painted green. There was an imitation of blades of grass made, I think, with seaweed, that bent under the foot when trodden upon. It really looked and felt like grass, but had the advantage that it would not fade and could be kept

indefinitely; and it was so rolled up that one man could carry quite a large lawn on his shoulders. Perhaps, however, the cardboard works form one of the most ingenious and interesting departments. Few persons, not technically acquainted with these matters, realise the importance and usefulness of cardboard for stage purposes. This sort of paper paste can be promptly moulded into any shape and painted any colour; while it has the sovereign advantage of being extremely light. Considering how quickly a scene has to be changed, the first requisite is that every object on the stage, whether it be the stone equestrian statue of the commandant in *Don Juan*, or the broad battlements of the castle at Elsinore where the ghost of the senior Hamlet walks and talks at night, must be capable of being picked up and carried away in a moment. If made of wood, such objects would still be too heavy; but cardboard, while fairly strong, is much lighter than the lightest wood. Therefore there is a machine for making cardboard paste and thus cardboard furniture, statues and an endless variety of things are manufactured and coloured on the spot. For the latter purpose an *aerograph* is employed. This is a sort of spray producer by which pulverised colour is pumped upon an object to impart any desired tone or complexion. The colours applied are aniline; metallic colours would be too dear for such rough usage, and would be considered dangerous, as the assistants might suffer if they had to breathe dust charged with particles of mercury, copper or arsenic. A sort of caolin, *blanc d'Espagne*, or *blanc de meudon*, as it is called, is also largely used for moulding. Many stage statues and ornaments are made of this plaster of Paris.

Some twelve women are employed, and they work at the cardboard figures, make artificial flowers or garlands, and various kinds of decoration. Others sew the canvas for the scenery. There is a carpenter, an upholsterer and cabinet-makers. Finally five unskilled labourers are employed to mix the paste for the cardboard, or to mix the colours and carry things about. It is indeed wonderful

to see how things are lifted and removed. At the time of my visit there was a considerable amount of Egyptian scenery in course of preparation; two men could lift a giant Rameses, and Cleopatra's Needle was easily balanced on one man's shoulder. It would be the same were it necessary to put a hundred-ton gun on the stage, and this is a contingency likely to arise during the course of some as yet unwritten "Dreadnought" drama.

In the summer, M. Visconti indulges in a brief absence. He dashes off to Paris to see old colleagues and get new ideas. Then he has to call on the authors of plays to be put on the boards for the first time. Together they have to decide on suitable scenic effects, and this is no easy matter. It has become more difficult of late, for it is determined that no trouble or expense shall be spared to make the scenery of the Monte Carlo theatre the most perfect that art and science can produce.

Seeing all this recalls to mind the teaching of one of our greatest authorities on such subjects, Mr Gordon Craig. For instance in *The English Review* of October 1911 he says: "The scene painters in London are undoubtedly most admirable scene painters; and the costumiers are first class. But what is the use of considering all these things *separately* or of separate people supplying them to the theatre when they have to be judged as a whole, when united? You may paint the most perfect scene in the world, and you may bring in the most perfect lighting apparatus in the theatre, but unless the two things, together with the actor and the actor's voice, have been considered as a unit, the most dire results must always be produced."

It would seem as if these lines had been written expressly to guide the constructors of the vast scene and stage property studio and workshop of Monte Carlo.

CHAPTER XV

THE SPORTS

THE more closely life in the principality is studied, the more clearly the duality of motives becomes apparent. The cynic, especially if he has been gambling and has lost, will probably laugh at such a suggestion. It is considered smart, it shows a knowledge of the world, to deny that there can be any good and disinterested motive. Therefore wherever money is spent, it is to bring in money and not at all for the purpose of rendering a useful service. Though enormous sums are devoted to promote sports of all kinds at Monte Carlo, this is not done to provide amusement, while encouraging healthy exercise, but to attract strangers, so that they may risk their money at roulette and *trente-et-quarante*. There are persons so constituted that it makes them happy to attribute bad motives to what appears to be a good action. It is a form of personal vanity. It is a way of posing. Such people are too clever by far to be taken in by any pretence of an altruistic nature. Nevertheless, whether as a consequence of outside pressure, or of the inward awakening of conscience, the fact does remain that, throughout the principality, we see this double motive, the hope of promoting business, but also the desire to do good. The preceding chapters contain many details of the vast sums of money expended on the arts and sciences which cannot possibly produce a money return. This is also the case in regard to many, though not to all, of the sports.

Some so-called sports have been encouraged though they are not only useless but actually degrading. There

The Sports: The Battle of Flowers

can be but one reason for such a derogation from more wholesome traditions. It attracts people, but this is not a sufficient excuse. Already more money is made than is needed. The stress of business, the fear of failure and poverty can no longer be adduced as an excuse for somewhat unscrupulous action. Such argument was plausible when Charles III. first reigned and but few of his people had ever seen a gold coin. It cannot be invoked to-day. Why then was the Anglo-French prize fight allowed? Why was a purse worth £1500 provided for such an unworthy object. From Monaco, the home of art and science, we hear that one of the champions "sent in a left-hand hook on the jaw." After this "a right hard" came and a combatant was "sent flat on his back." What then was the use of engaging Sarah Bernhardt to act, Caruso and Chaliapine to sing, Clairin to paint, Garnier to build and so many other leaders in art and refinement, if this is the language correspondents are to use when they telegraph to the press the latest news from Monte Carlo. All the traditions of the place are outraged by this prize fight. It happened, however, that at the next notable "event" of this sort, one of the combatants was killed. As the fight occurred in Paris, the French Government interfered, and fights of this kind are not likely to take place again, either in France or in Monaco.

There is another so-called sport which is not destined to long survive the advance of civilisation and humane sentiments. During the month of June 1912, at Vincennes, Captain Balédent, commander of the 5th Company of the 46th line, made experiments of cinematographic projections on a rifle range. Skirmishers seeking shelter as they crept forward were shown, and soldiers fired at this advancing force. The marks left by the bullets showed to what extent they had aimed correctly. Surely with a contrivance of this sort an excellent substitute for the pigeon-shooting might be found. At present the peaceful beauty of the casino terraces is constantly disturbed by the report of firearms. A bridge from the lower terrace

passes over the railroad cutting. The line is 62 feet below the bridge which leads to the extreme point on the Monte Carlo promontory, where formerly such excellent sea-urchins and other delicacies could be found among the rocks. Now this point is given over to the pigeon-shooting. There is a large grass-sown hemicycle, sustained by arches resting on the irregularly shaped rocks of the seashore. Pigeon-shooting at Monte Carlo dates back to 1872 and boasts of having attracted the best shots of Europe and America. A great portion of the establishment was rebuilt in 1896. The initial expenses, comprising the construction of the arches on the rocks, and partially in the sea, amounted to some £12,000. Since that time, more money has been spent. The pigeon-shooters are afforded every convenience and shelter. Before them on the grass lawn there are five little wooden boxes. At a word of command an attendant pulls a string and one of the little boxes falls to pieces, thus releasing the tame pigeon that has been placed inside. Glad to be liberated from dark and close confinement, but dazed by the sudden glare of light, the pigeon rises slowly, and there are "sportsmen," so-called, who have the heart to shoot at this tame and confiding bird. If it is not killed, it will fly back to the pigeon-house, which is close at hand, or go behind the casino to feed from the hands of more humane persons who throw crumbs to the birds near the Café de Paris. Here sometimes may be seen a pigeon that has been hit, crippled, horribly maimed, but yet surviving, and still showing its confidence in mankind by hopping up close to the café tables for bread, instead of the lead it has received from the "sportsman" on the other side of the casino.

Perhaps a glowing description should be given here of the pigeon-shooters and the pigeon-shooting, for Monte Carlo is one of the most celebrated rendezvous in the world for this sort of pastime. Crowned heads, members of the aristocracy of most countries and plutocrats of all shades and colours have attempted to kill the tame pigeons

THE SPORTS: THE NAVAL BATTLE OF FLOWERS

that attendants place before them ready to be shot. Fortunately there are some indications that this cruel diversion will no longer continue to be fashionable. There are now so many prizes given, and some of them for such large sums, that the pigeon-shooting has attracted people who come merely for the sake of the money they hope to win. Worse even than this, syndicates have been formed, especially in Italy. A certain number of persons club together and practise shooting. The best shot is then selected and sent to compete at the Monte Carlo pigeon-shooting matches. His expenses are paid by his syndicate; but if he wins he must share the proceeds with his associates. This of course means the attendance at the matches of a very different class of persons from the fashionable crowd it was the intention of the organisers to attract to Monte Carlo. But really these poor Italians, who come in the hope of making money, are more excusable than the idle rich who shoot pigeons for mere amusement. Generally speaking, even savage wild animals only kill while they are hungry; but the human animal goes on killing for the fun of the thing. The poor Italian, however, does kill because he is hungry, for he is trying to earn a living by shooting pigeons. He would just as soon shoot at a clay pipe, if there were as big a prize to be obtained when he hit it; he does not necessarily take pleasure in killing, he is only anxious to increase his insufficient income.

It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the pretty tame pigeons of Monte Carlo will be allowed to enjoy as peaceful a life as the pigeons that add so much to the charm and animation of the Piazza San Marco at Venice. All true sportsmen should protest against the very unsportsmanlike butchery that so constantly mars the beautiful outlook from the terraces of the casino. In any case, close at hand, just on the opposite side of the bay that forms the ancient port of Hercules, is the old palace of the Grimaldis, and there lives a real sportsman who in more than one perilous adventure has proved his

mettle, and he does not fail to express his contempt. In "La Carrière d'un Navigateur," Prince Albert devotes a chapter to hunting and shooting, and he speaks of the decadent sportsman evolved by modern customs and tame existence which society governs "from the height of its boredom":

"With their suits of elegant cut, their thin and highly polished boots, their hair dressed with sheep-like submission to the caprices of fashion, their fancy gloves to protect their feminine hands against the cold, or against vulgar contacts or the colouring due to exposure, with their virgin guns that bear neither scratch nor scar as witness of ardent struggles, these shooters have a fragile aspect that indicates their lack of character.

"Their elegancies flourish on a soft, convenient ground where there is game that is not too cunning and has been procured purposely to suit such hunters."

It certainly cannot be said that the tame pigeon placed in a small box, at a measured distance from the man who shoots, displays any cunning. The prince, of course, does not openly allude to the pigeon-shooting that is so extensively practised in his principality. Some of his very distinguished guests, who have thoughtlessly followed in the wake of fashion, even to the extent of shooting at tame pigeons, might be offended. But the prince clearly indicates what he considers real sport, and does not hesitate to express his scorn for the safe and easy shooting that has become fashionable. Sport, he tells us, "is in harmony with the laws of nature, which sanction the killing of beasts for self-defence or for food; but to kill without excuse, to kill without measure and without pity, to kill while pampered with luxury, has always been a sign of decadence."

On the other hand, many of the sports encouraged in the principality are obviously of direct use to the world at large. True to their Phœnician origin, everything that is

connected with locomotion, be it on land or sea, but more especially if it is on the sea, finds favour at Monaco. At nearly all the Riviera resorts there is every year a battle of flowers; but at Monaco there is not only a battle on land, there is also a battle on the sea. Instead of dressing up carriages with flowers, boats are thus gaily arrayed. Instead of carriages driving past, boats are rowed near enough for their occupants to bombard each other with flowers. The shower of flowers constitutes a peaceful and poetical way of fighting that is not devoid of charm. No sort of injury is inflicted unless some dirt accidentally gets into the eye. The great demand for flowers encourages floriculture, and their utilisation to ornament carriages or boats develops appreciation for the decorative arts.

The open sea, the smooth harbour, naturally encourage all forms of aquatic sports. There are numerous regattas, and the moment a new means of locomotion is discovered it meets with encouragement at Monaco. Thus the sports of Monaco have really helped the cause of progress. A large open space that faces the harbour in the Condamine is kept free for all such purposes. Here an annual exhibition of motor boats is held, followed by numerous contests between these crafts. Prizes to the extent of £4000 are given, and this must stimulate the invention and better management of new methods of navigation, that will prove of great service. On this same spot there was formerly a large shelter built for dirigible balloons, and here it was that Santos Dumont made one of his memorable flights.

To-day, of course, it is the aeroplane that holds the first place, and at once its development was encouraged at Monaco. As a result, it is now the boast of the principality that the first flight ever taken over the Mediterranean was from Monaco. The start was made from the quay on the commercial side of the port. A commemorative tablet will be found on the spot, and it bears the following inscription:—

"On the 3rd of March 1910 the aviator H. Rougier

started from this spot on a Voisin biplane to accomplish the first flight on the Mediterranean and to pass above a mountain, for the first time, by flying over the *Tête de Chien* (600). The Communal Council decides and approves the erection of this commemorative inscription, the Commandant Loth being Mayor. January 1911."

The snapshot photograph of this memorable flight is here reproduced, and besides the biplane we see the prince's yacht, *Princesse Alice*, at anchor. Behind is the Condamine district, and in the long, low building against the water the first pretence of a bathing station was established. In the rear is the *Tête de Chien*, 600 metres high, so called because it is like the head of a dog in a crouching attitude. The aviator, after going over the sea as far as Cap Martin and back, flew above this mountain.

For other forms of locomotion we have bicycle races, an automobile rally and, what is very much needed, a competition for elegance in the construction, painting and decoration of automobiles. It is bad enough that motors should render the road untenable by reason of the people they kill and maim, the abominable noise and smell they make, the blinding dust they raise, but their ugliness still further increases the sorrow with which we part from the beautiful and lovable horses they replace. Prizes should also be given for more harmonious hooters and less odoriferous petrol. But the principality was to the forefront in reducing the speed at which motors are allowed to travel and in tarring the roads, so that they should make less dust. Now a still more radical measure has been taken to liberate the pedestrian from the motor car nuisance, and prevent a few rich people from prohibiting the most wholesome of all exercises. A society has been formed to promote the "path by the sea." From Nice to Menton all local authorities will exercise their persuasive powers on the landlords whose property skirts the sea, so as to induce them to sell enough land for a narrow path to be made, which will allow the pedestrian to walk, undisturbed by any vehicle whatsoever, from Nice to Menton. Portions of

THE SPORTS: THE AVIATOR ROUGIER STARTING FOR THE FIRST FLIGHT OVER THE MEDITERRANEAN

this path are already constructed, and I had the pleasure to assist at the inauguration, in 1911, of the section that starts from Monte Carlo station and goes beyond the frontier to the Pointe de la Vieille. Here there is an interruption and the pedestrian must follow the main road, but he will find the path again as he nears Cap Martin. If people come to the Riviera it is because they appreciate the scenery, the climate, the flowers and the vegetation possible only on account of the climate. But petrol does not enhance the perfume of the flowers. The dust of the motor veils the beauty of their colours, while it destroys the purity of the atmosphere. So that the charm and the principal attractions of the country shall no longer be sacrificed to the love of speed, the path by the sea is in the course of construction. All who can appreciate the joy of contemplation, where nature is so kind, and sky and sea combine to produce endless variety of colour and form, will not be disturbed as they stroll along this little path. Dr Guglielminetti is the secretary of the organisation that is thus endeavouring to save us from the motor car, and lovers of nature will wish him all success.

Among other forms of exercise encouraged here, there is a golf club high up in the mountains, but it can be reached by motor omnibus. Close at hand, in the Condamine, and at the Jardins de la Festa, lawn-tennis is played, and international matches held. For those who work and have not time to go about playing like schoolboys, gymnastics or fencing are much better than games which only exercise some of the muscles. With fencing we can exercise the largest variety of muscles and make the maximum effort in the minimum time. The principal objection, especially in the north of Europe, is that both gymnastics and fencing are generally practised indoors. Not so in Monaco, where opportunities for such exercise are supplied out of doors. Local and international fencing matches often take place, and it is a great pity that more Englishmen do not learn to fence, and thus acquire not

only quickness of eye and hand, but gracefulness of deportment and agility.

At Monte Carlo there are all manner of competitions, some of a rather eccentric character. For instance, there is a hat competition for ladies, and also a parasol contest. It is not a fight, but an exhibition, and the possessor of the most graceful parasol obtains a prize. If it were held in London it would have to be an umbrella contest; but, being at Monte Carlo, and in the winter, it advertises the fact that this is the land of sunshine. Then there are international competitions of dogs; all sorts of dogs: pet dogs, terrier dogs, bull dogs and, still more interesting, police dogs. The latter must show that they have been trained to refuse food offered by strangers, to pursue thieves and know when to bite and when to stop biting. Finally, the state reception of the Queens of Beauty must not be forgotten, for this is a well-merited homage paid to useful labour. The Queens of Beauty are elected at Nice, as in Paris, from among the laundry women, the market women and other hard-working women. The object is to show that it is possible to be a useful member of society without losing all claim to beauty and even to elegance. The women toiling in these different trades are proud to think that they still preserve in their midst some of the charms for which their sex is distinguished. So for one day in the year the prettiest in each trade is elected Queen and the authorities called upon to render her homage. The Queen and her Court must be received at the town hall and respectfully kissed by the mayor. For the whole day receptions and entertainments follow in rapid succession, and for once in her life the laundry girl or market stall-keeper tastes the sweets of high office and public popularity. The photograph reproduced here gives the Queens of Beauty for the year 1911. They are sitting on the platform within the Monte Carlo Palace of Fine Arts, where they were received, with all honour, by the authorities of the principality and the directors of the casino.

Such are some of the sports and diversions organised

Reception of the Queens of Beauty at Monte Carlo

each year for the benefit of visitors. The list given is not complete, for it is safe to say that barely a week passes during the season without some event or another taking place. The main purpose doubtless is to ensure that visitors shall enjoy themselves while in the principality; but their health is benefited by the motive provided for outdoor exercise, while encouragement is given to many inventions that render practical service as well as provide amusement.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SUPERSTITIONS OF GAMBLERS

IT is a well-recognised fact that gamblers are as a class particularly superstitious. The wonder is that very shrewd, sober-minded people, and even those who have received a scientific training, are not exempt from this weakness. On the contrary, should they become habitual roulette-players they will develop superstitious tendencies and gradually sink to the level of frivolous, shallow-minded old dames who glory in hanging seven grotesque charms to their watch-chain. The higher intellects are preserved by their sense of pride from doing anything that is too obviously absurd, but they are nevertheless terribly troubled by superstitious apprehensions. They also have their lucky days, quite like common mortals, and their lucky numbers. They object to be spoken to or looked at when playing, and not a few would absolutely refuse to stake any money on the suicides' table. In almost every book or paper that has been written about Monte Carlo, Homburg, Wiesbaden and similar places, the superstitions of gamblers are described, sometimes at great length. Yet with all this exuberance of detail, repetition and gossip no one seems to have paused to inquire why gamblers are more superstitious than other members of the community; and, when gambling, more superstitious than when engaged on any other occupation.

The explanation of this phenomenon is nevertheless very simple and clear. The less we know, the more superstitious do we become. The world's history shows that this is a dominant characteristic of human nature. It is notorious that the most superstitious people are the

THE SPORTS: THE GOLF CLUB

seafaring and agricultural populations. Both depend for their daily work and daily bread on the condition of the weather, and meteorology of all the sciences is that which has made the least progress. But with regard to navigation, since the introduction of steamships and with the ever-increasing power of the machinery they contain we hear less and less of sailors' superstitions. Such ships defy the weather, and no one has accused firemen, stokers and engine-room men of being especially superstitious. It is the mariner of the olden days, who had to trim his sail to every wind, and never knew from what quarter the wind would blow, who naturally became extremely superstitious. He could no more tell whether there would be a long continuance of fine weather than the player at roulette can tell when to expect a long series on red. The same may be said about the tiller of the soil, and both depended on the weather for their existence. The more violent the phenomenon, if we are ignorant of its cause and the laws by which it is governed, the deeper the superstitions it engenders. A series of twenty on a simple or even chance is just as extraordinary, rare and unexpected a phenomenon as an earthquake would be, and we are equally at a loss to explain or anticipate its occurrence. Speaking of earthquakes and their relation to superstitions, Buckle, in his " History of Civilisation," says :

" Further illustration of this may be found even in Europe, where such phenomena are comparatively speaking extremely rare. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are more frequent and more destructive in Italy, and in the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, than in any other of the great countries ; and it is precisely there that superstition is most rife, and the superstitious classes most powerful. Those were the countries where the clergy first established their authority, where the worst corruptions of Christianity took place, and where superstition has during the longest period retained the firmest hold."

To-day at Monte Carlo, nothing, I should imagine,

is more likely to shock the reverently disposed Christian than the presence on the gambling-tables of images, blessed and consecrated as sacred to his faith. Of the loud prayers uttered in the churches, of the silent prayers whispered in the casino, the former are often doubtful in quality, while the latter, born of distress, are likely to be more fervent. Nor is this quite as reprehensible and irreverent as it may seem. Many a story is told of disaster, sickness, unemployment, bad trade, unsuccessful speculations, the crumbling of a fortune, the menace of family ruin. Then, as a last chance, a few hundred or a few thousand francs are gathered together in the hope that luck, which has proved so hostile in the ordinary business of life, may show itself more kind in this last desperate venture. Such an attempt is generally made by a woman ; a pious and devoted woman, strongly attached to her family, who has never gambled in her life and has something much better to do with her time and money than to waste them over games of hazard. She comes, however, to Monte Carlo in the extremity of her distress. Is she to pray to the pagan goddess of Fortune, or shall she bring with her the little silver image of the Virgin Mary, to which she has appealed with perfect faith during every trial and stress of her life ? Is this friend and companion in all her doubts and troubles to be spurned and pushed aside now that the greatest trial is at hand and the last forlorn hope must be attempted ? Obviously this is the moment of all others when the poor distraught woman will cling to that image, pathetic in its smallness and insignificance, but rendered strong and even beautiful by reason of the intensity of human love, human longing and agony, with which it is clothed.

The sense of decorum, of ridicule, of inappropriateness, of shame, does not exist. With the Virgin's effigy firmly held in one hand, and a few coins or notes trembling in the other, this woman, strong in her simple superstition, approaches the tables. There is no desire to gamble, there is only the love that longs to save her family from distress.

THE SPORTS: INTERNATIONAL MOTOR-BOAT EXHIBITION AND COMPETITION

This is a holy feeling, and her lips move in correspondence with the sacred appeal for help and mercy that springs from her soul, as she throws her money on the table. This is a form of superstition which we may lament as divorced from reason, but which is too pathetic to be a subject of ridicule. Nor should the iconoclastic Christian be too utterly shocked, for there are other points of view than those engendered by his puritanic training.

It was quite a different matter, however, when on one occasion I was disturbed at my hotel by the loud and angry voices of two elderly ladies. One of these fellow-residents had reckoned that her fortune was assured because, after prolonged intrigues and the exercise of the greatest ingenuity, she had succeeded in approaching one of the attendants on the Pope at Rome. Her object was to conceal a five-franc piece among some rosaries which the Pope was going to bless. Having at last, after any amount of trouble, surreptitiously succeeded in securing the papal blessing for her five francs, she took the first train to Monte Carlo. Unfortunately I was never able to obtain a clear account of the way in which she utilised the sacred coin at the roulette-table. It is hardly likely that the coin was actually staked. Perhaps it was thought sufficient to mix it with the other money which was put on the table. However this might be, the result was satisfactory and the amount won daily accumulated.

The terrible dispute in which this golden adventure terminated arose out of excessive kindness. If the lady with the coin the Pope had blessed was fortunate, her bosom friend was equally unfortunate. Instead of rejoicing at her companion's good fortune the friend wearisomely bewailed her own ill-luck in staking just too soon or too late. At last, tired out by this oft-repeated tale of woe, the lady with the blessed coin lent it to her friend. That surely would end all the trouble. Sustained by papal blessings, even though they had been unintentionally bestowed, there could be no doubt that luck would turn. It did turn, but not as anticipated. The friend's bad luck

steadily continued, it was the good luck accompanying the sacred five-franc piece that turned. Bad as this might be, worse followed. Somehow in the confusion and excitement of the moment, the friend proved unworthy of the great trust which had been reposed in her; she actually allowed a sacrilegious croupier to rake up the coin blessed by the Pope. Paralysed by such a desecration, before a protest could be uttered she saw the sacred five-franc piece inextricably mixed with the countless mass of common coins. A moment later it began to share the fate of all other money and was tossed irreverently from hand to hand, resting briefly in many pockets and in vulgar promiscuity to ordinary filthy dross. What would become of the papal blessing now? Would not such an affront turn it into a curse? How could the owner or the borrower of the sacred five-franc piece ever return to the casino? What luck could they possibly expect after thus desecrating so holy an object?

Long did the passages of the hotel re-echo with recriminations of this description, and they did not cease even though one by one various doors opened and people stepped out to ascertain what was the matter. There is no knowing how long I might have continued an amused spectator, but that another elderly lady touched me on the arm. Opening a very deep shabby leather purse the lady invited me to look inside, saying, "I have something better than that. I did not have to go to Rome for it and bribe a lot of people. I got it from a railway porter and it only cost me five francs, but it has been more lucky than the five-franc piece these noisy ladies have lost." For some time I looked down into the purse without perceiving anything. There was not even any money, but at last I saw a small piece of something that looked like a fragment of liver about the size of a threepenny bit. "What is it?" I whispered, for this was too mysterious a matter to admit of being discussed in louder tones. "I went to the Monaco railway station," the lady replied. "You know that there is also a goods station there and

The Dog Show

not many people about, so I persuaded a railway porter to catch and kill one of the numerous bats that fly out at dark. This is the bat's heart. The porter was quite satisfied when I gave him five francs for it. The silly man, if he had only known, I would gladly have given him twenty francs. You see this old purse. It is very large, so I can put a lot of five-franc pieces on the top of the bat's heart. If I do occasionally lose a piece I am not in the least alarmed, because I know that somehow that piece must have failed to touch the bat's heart, for it is a very small heart and is wèaring away like Balzac's *Peau de Chagrin*. Then I am a little greedy and hasty, and do not take sufficient care. But that does not matter, it makes the game more interesting to lose a little now and then."

Seeing that it was necessary for the money to rub against the bat's heart, I inquired why smaller coins, gold coins, were not used, since it was only the money that had been in the purse and in touch for some time with the bat's heart which acquired magic virtue. My question, however, was greeted with a look of such withering scorn that I regretted having spoken and apologetically inquired what I could have said that was so obviously inappropriate. "It is my mistake," the lady now answered, with cold politeness and measuring her words. "I thought—but I fear I am not good at thought-reading—however, the impression did come over me that you were a brother, a fellow-initiate. Otherwise, do you think I would ever have shown you my purse? But there, great as is the world's ignorance, I did think you knew the bat was a night animal."

Of course I energetically protested that of this much, at least, I was not ignorant; but was fully aware that bats only flew about after dusk. "Then," resumed the mysterious lady, "the bat being a creature of the night, corresponds with the feminine in nature, with our Holy Mother, who always wears the blue star-spangled cloak of night, and rests her foot on the silvery moon. Of course her metal is silver, so how can you expect a bat to in-

fluence gold ? Is not gold the exact opposite ? It is the metal of the sun, of the male in nature, of fire, of light, of the day as opposed to the night. If I played with gold I should hide my bat's heart in a dark place, keep the gold well away from it, use another purse and play on the day consecrated to the sun—on Sunday, of course ! But as I was born under a favourable aspect of the moon, I must be content with her metal, silver, and of course my best day for winning is her day, the moon's day, as you say in English, the *jour de la lune*, or *lundi*, as we say in French." Thereupon the old lady made me a dignified curtsy, and with a somewhat sardonic laugh strolled away. This was not Isis unveiled, but it seemed to me as if I had been privileged to catch a glimpse through a minute rent in the veil.

It would be an error to conclude from the above incidents that only persons brought up in Roman Catholic countries have so little reverence and sense of what is appropriate as to bring to the gaming-tables something derived from their Church. A few steps beyond the frontier line of the principality there is an English chapel where a duly ordained clergyman of the Church of England officiates every Sunday to a Monte Carlo congregation. A well-known story, familiar to most frequenters, is told of an English visitor who after attending Church service went as usual to the casino. On approaching the tables, however, he felt a singular hesitation. The even chances, the columns, the numbers, the dozens seemed to have lost their charm. There was not even a favourite transversale that could tempt him. But all of a sudden a luminous idea came to his mind. He remembered that the clergyman had called upon the congregation to sing the hymn numbered 36 in the hymn-book, and there was no resisting such an inspiration. Without a moment's hesitation he threw a louis on No. 36. Round went the wheel and a minute later the croupier, having announced *trente-six*, *rouge*, *pair*, *passe*, handed over the thirty-five louis won. This was too good a stroke of luck to be passed

over in silence. The fortunate player told his friends, and they told their friends. Thus it came about that on the following Sunday there was an extraordinary increase in the congregation attending the English church. Greatly wondering and nothing doubting, the clergyman in due time gave out hymn No. 27, and this met with ready response from the congregation. No sooner was the service over than quite an exceptional number of the faithful strolled from the church to the casino. Entering the gaming-rooms, they showed equal unanimity in staking on No. 27. It so happened, however, that this number was not to the fore at this particular moment. Nevertheless, for there is no limit to the hopefulness of gamblers, there was again an exceptionally large attendance at the church on the ensuing Sunday. But by this time the clergyman had begun to suspect the origin of the sudden popularity his church had acquired, so he gave out hymn 47 ! The blank, disappointed look of many among the congregation confirmed his suspicions, and henceforth he selected hymns above No. 36. It was not long before his congregation dwindled back to its small and normal proportions.

Nevertheless if these gamblers who associated the chants of their Church with the chances of roulette had known the lady with the bat's heart, she would soon have shown them how to bet on No. 47 or any other number, whatever its length, even if it exceeded 47 millions. It does not need a very terrible, dangerous, mysterious initiation to know what is sometimes called theosophic reduction, by which any and every figure can be brought down to the first nine numbers. Thus, in this case, it was only necessary to count that $4+7=11$ and then to play on eleven. But by going a step farther we get $1+1=2$; and, as two is female, it would be preferable to stake silver coins. After that, if the player had not won, even the lady with the bat's heart would have been forced to admit it was not from want of knowledge.

A great deal might be said about numbers and many superstitions traced back to Pythagorean theories, to

the Tarot or the twenty-two principal letters of the Hebrew alphabet. But the vast majority of gamblers are shallow-minded pleasure-seekers, and are not prone to reason over what they do; otherwise they would not play so often. If a person bets on a particular number it is more likely to be the date of his birthday or the number of his cloakroom ticket than a number that has an esoteric meaning which corresponds with some particular and to him favourable influence. In this respect I had a curious experience. Some years ago, a scare was raised that American coals were exported to Mediterranean ports, and the rate of wages paid to British miners might be reduced in consequence. Thereupon two Labour members of the House of Commons, who had been elected to represent mining districts, asked me to accompany them to the Mediterranean so as to verify this statement. Needless to say, the talk about American exports of coal was but a stratagem based on the supposed ignorance of the working miners. This unscrupulous manœuvre was, however, very effectively defeated by the investigation we made on the spot. Having visited the coal depots at Marseilles, Toulon, Nice, without finding any American coals, it was necessary to travel through Monaco on the way to Genoa. Such an opportunity was not to be lost. Obviously one or two days' holiday must be taken to visit this beauty spot. But as the force of circumstances had imposed on me the responsible position of guide, philosopher and friend, I felt bound to deliver an urgent and solemn homily on the folly and fatal consequences of gambling.

Duly impressed by my earnest exhortation and evident experience, my friends agreed that we should each risk ten francs—a sum we could afford to lose without a tinge of regret. This would suffice for playing six times, even if we lost each time, and we would share alike in profit or loss. At this juncture I noticed that the number of the railway carriage in which we were approaching Monte Carlo was 2031. Pointing this out, I explained

that according to local traditions and superstitions we should stake on *les quatres premiers—i.e.* the zero and the numbers 1, 2, 3. But we should have only one chance of winning out of nine, so it would be a great risk. My companions, however, were delighted. What did the risk matter, since I had so carefully taught them to expect to lose and to risk only what they could without the slightest reluctance afford to lose ? After going round the rooms and watching the play at several tables, I called upon my companions to select the table at which we were to try our fortunes. This done, my consternation may well be imagined when, on approaching the table, I found the marble resting peacefully on No. 2 as the wheel turned lazily round while people laid out fresh stakes. We had arrived just too late ; the four first had already won ! What were we to do ? It was most unlikely so slender a chance would turn up twice running. My companions were inexorable. They were just as interested in Monte Carlo superstitions as in roulette ; the stake on the number of our railway carriage must be made, and I made it. A still greater surprise was in store, for the *quatres premiers* turned up a second time and therefore we won eight pieces. We had by one single *coup* more than doubled our capital. Such extraordinary luck, my companions readily recognised, was not likely to happen again. Though we had only risked one out of our six five-franc pieces, we all agreed to rest satisfied with our very good fortune. Triumphantly we marched out and proceeded to exercise our arithmetical faculties in the attempt to divide the eight big silver pieces we had won into three equal parts.

Superstitions with regard to numbers are very widespread, and this not merely among ignorant people. In London I am acquainted with a West-End bookdealer, a thoughtful, well-read man, who is also a great explorer. For some reason he is unable to explain he has always associated his existence and any strong feeling he may experience with the number 8. Instead of swear-

ing when agitated he will mutter to himself, 8, 18, 80, 88, 800 and so on till he has recovered his equanimity. Of course on hearing this I reminded him that the eighth Tarot card meant justice, and he was greatly surprised, for not only is justice his highest ideal but a paper with which he was much concerned is called *Justice*. He then related that in his exploring expeditions he had visited a London gambling hell where they were playing roulette. Seeing the numbers, he at once placed a coin on No. 8, and No. 8 won. He was paid thirty-five times the amount he had risked and this was the first time and the last time he had ever played at roulette.

Perhaps no superstition is so widespread as the dread of No. 13, and yet how few people know why. How few people know anything about that earlier form of scripture, those philosophical tablets that became the twenty-one numbered Tarot cards and the one unnumbered card. It is in them, and they are probably three or four thousand years old, that the fear of thirteen originated. This is obviously due to the fact that the thirteenth card is the death card, though not necessarily a bad card. Death is impossible without its natural counterpart, birth. It is the card of birth or rebirth as well as of death ; and thus it is essentially a revolutionary card. The death of the old, the birth of the new ; how else shall we rid ourselves of the many time-worn abuses ? Strange to say, if we look about the wealthy quarters of Paris, where the inhabitants have much to preserve and do not welcome the idea of death, the number 13 is not often seen. In the Place Vendôme, where are situated the Hôtel Bristol, frequented by kings, and the Hôtel Ritz, there is no No. 13. Nor is there a No. 13 in the rue le Peletier, the Avenue Matignon, the Avenue de Villiers, the rue Poussin, the Faubourg St Honoré, the Faubourg Montmartre, the rue Montaigne, the rue Blanche, the rue Balzac, the rue Chateaubriand, the rue Boissy d'Anglas, the Avenue Jules Janin, the rue Dosne, the rue de la Pompe, the rue Nicolo, the rue Boissonnade, the rue d'Astorg, the rue

Faraday and many others. On the other hand, at Belleville, at La Villette, and different working men's and revolutionary quarters of Paris, no one objects to No. 13, and it may be found in every street.

Thirteen was never intended to be an unlucky number. All that has life must die, whether it be an individual, a dynasty, or an institution, and when it disappears to make room for something that is better the event may be considered fortunate rather than unfortunate. Nevertheless, this does not do away with the fact that there are some persons who will not occupy the thirteenth seat from the croupier, and who refuse to play at all on the 13th of the month. And all these things are likely to be more unlucky if the player is on the left side of the croupier. But there are many other considerations. Thus a lady who had been warned by a fortune-teller that she would be reduced to " black despair " (*misère noire*) would play on red alone, and this only when a fair-haired croupier was manipulating the wheel. Others will not play unless they have just taken the precaution to put out their tongue at their left-hand neighbour. It is as well to be acquainted with such practices so as not to take offence when no offence is meant. The *jettatore* is also used to ward off the spirits that bring bad luck, and is not intended as a hostile act aimed at some fellow-player.

The great puzzle is to know what a player must do if he perceives a priest. This infallibly betokens bad luck, unless some very energetic means is adopted to counteract such an unfortunate influence. The horn, the pagan symbol of male virility, to this day is believed to be the best antidote against unmarried priests ; and women on meeting a priest will curl the first finger of each hand on the sides of their forehead, thus pretending to have horns. But if the priest brings bad luck, nothing can excel the good luck that as invariably accompanies the hump-back. On this subject an amusing story is told about the late M. Alfred Naquet, the learned deputy who succeeded in persuading the French Parliament to enact

a law authorising divorce. While the controversy this occasioned was at its height, M. Naquet came to Monte Carlo. To his surprise, he was received with marked attention and even familiarity. Some, ladies in particular, found various pretexts for touching or caressing him, and especially for stroking him on the back. M. Naquet was delighted. He had been told that women were strongly opposed to his Divorce Bill, but here at Monte Carlo women of all sorts greeted him with affectionate manifestations of approval. Poor M. Naquet! He forgot that he was a humpback, and he did not know that to stroke the hump of a humpback is a sure way of winning at roulette.

The belief that humpbacks bring good luck to gamblers has prevailed in many parts of the world and for many centuries, but there is a superstition which can only apply to Monte Carlo. Travelling from Nice to Monte Carlo, and passing through the big tunnel between Eze and La Turbie, there is to be seen a large hole on the right about ten feet wide, through which a glimpse of the sea can be obtained. This is called the "*trou de la veine.*" Here dwell the pretty fairies who put us in the lucky vein. It is of no use to look for this hole, but should the traveller chance to see it when he is not on the look-out, then he may stake his money without fear; he is sure to win. With regard to the railway journey from Nice to Monte Carlo, it may be mentioned that a smaller number of tickets are issued on the Friday. This proves the prevalence of the superstition that Friday is an unlucky day. *Vendredi* is the day of the Latin Venus; Friday the day of Freya, the Scandinavian Venus. Of all the days of the week, it is more especially the woman's day, and woman, as the guardian of the home, is most concerned in resisting the devastation wrought by gambling. Then it is well known that those who lose at play win at love-making; so, as Friday is the woman's day, it follows that at least the men who play should lose. On the other hand, iron is the metal of Mars, the god of war and the lover of Venus. Accidentally to touch iron before playing is a sign of good luck. It is also

very lucky indeed inadvertently to step on dirt. Then if a coin, clumsily thrown on the table, bounds into the cylinder, the number into which it falls is sure to be heavily backed by those who have seen the accident. How could such mishaps more clearly indicate the winner?

Every conceivable sort of charm or talisman is brought to the tables. Little pigs in silver, gold or bog-wood are thought very lucky. In the olden days, when there were fewer people and more latitude allowed to players, one lady preferred real pig, and this she brought with her in the form of a large piece of ham. At regular intervals in her play she cut off a formidable mouthful, being convinced that so long as she was eating pig she had a better chance of winning. Another lady with a more refined palate preferred pastry, but objections were raised because it made the table sticky. This was in no wise surprising. The waiters brought the cakes on a tray and were careful to select dirty trays with plenty of burnt sugar or other sticky material underneath. Thus if the tray could be put down near a pile of gold, perhaps one or two stray coins might stick to the sugar under the tray. Nothing similar could happen to-day. The rooms and the tables are far too crowded for trays to be handed about. But if refreshments are not carried round by waiters, superstitious gamblers often bring in all manner of strange and uncanny things. One visitor had great faith in a small living tortoise which he placed in his pocket. This is rather awkward for the neighbours, for such little animals are apt to make their escape and crawl from one person to another. A tale is told of a gentleman who had a spider with him. He kept it in a box painted inside half red and half black. He did not watch the game but he watched the spider, and he always played on the colour the spider had selected. It is a pity no explanation was given as to the why and wherefore of the affinity he evidently believed must exist between roulette and spiders. "Come into my parlour, said the spider to the fly" seems more appropriate to the bank than to the player.

Nevertheless, according to the legend, the man with the spider always won, till one day this sagacious insect escaped and selected a domicile in some inaccessible part of the ceiling.

If a neighbour at roulette has a pocket out of shape because it contains something very hard and heavy, the presence of a revolver need not be feared ; it is much more likely to be a horseshoe. This symbol of fertility is very appropriate for those who anticipate gathering a large harvest at the gaming-tables. Less cumbrous but far more sinister is the authentic piece of hangman's rope or the skin of a venomous snake. Some bring locks of hair, pieces of coral and even rats' tails. But undoubtedly the most interesting of all the luck-bearers is the mascotte. Apart from the game, what a delightful subject of romance ! Nobody presumably has ever heard of an ugly mascotte ; yet, however beautiful and fascinating the mascotte may be, the person who employs her must not pay her the slightest compliment or engage even in the mildest flirtation. Nor must he allow anyone else to pay court to his mascotte. It is dreadfully dull work for her, and therefore it is not surprising that she should insist on a large share of the profits. Mascottes, and very beautiful mascottes, abound at Monte Carlo. How far they abide by the laws of mascotte magic is another matter. Among many others there used to be a supremely pretty Alsatian mascotte who always insisted on 25 per cent. of the profits, and she is credited with having thus obtained close upon £3000 without risking a penny of her own money. It is difficult to say how a woman gains the reputation of being a mascotte, but once acquired it cannot be easily lost, especially if the mascotte is really very charming. Should the gentleman lose instead of winning, she can always recall a moment when he looked at her somewhat too admiringly or was a little over-attentive. It is not the mascotte's fault if men will be so silly, so weak as not to be able to restrain themselves. If they will break the charm they must not blame the mascotte.

CONCLUSION

ENOUGH perhaps has now been said to convey the purport of this book. The first object, of course, was to give useful information, both in regard to the past and the present of Monaco and Monte Carlo. Much still remains to be said; interesting features of life in the principality have been omitted but many of its less-known phases are fully described. The second purport is to make it quite clear that this life bears a double aspect. The one has become too notorious, the other is still insufficiently known. But if the austere critic would blame the first, it may be said, in mitigation, that it has rendered the other possible. However great the evil consequences of the gambling at Monte Carlo, this has provided the means for the succour of the poor, the abolition of taxation, the encouragement of art, science and sport. As in England we have never succeeded in preventing gambling, may we not learn a useful lesson from Monaco? Why not canalise this vice and make it pay our taxes? The desire to gamble is a force in nature. It should not be wasted by being allowed to run wild. In France one of the principal sources of revenue for the maintenance of the hospitals is the percentage deducted from all bets made on horse-racing. A gambler is a person who hopes to obtain money without having the trouble to work for it. He wants to receive without giving, to consume without producing. This is a proceeding which confers no benefit to society and is demoralising in its general effects. If it cannot be prevented, we can at least compel these useless persons to become useful by making them contribute to the public revenue.

On the 4th of July 1912, M. Empereur stated in the

French Senate that there were 123 thermal stations or watering-places in France with casinos where gambling was sanctioned. Some of these are so insignificant that only a few hundred francs were made during the course of the year. In other resorts very large sums were lost by the public and won by the concessionaires for these games. In 1910 the total receipts of the 123 casinos amounted to £1,746,400. The most prosperous casino was that of Englien, near Paris, with gross receipts of £376,000. The three casinos of Nice came next. Their receipts were £320,000 between them. The gambling at Cannes only brings in £44,000. In 1911 the total gross receipts of the French casinos derived from gambling amounted to £1,921,022. *Petit Chevaux*, and such games, yielded £598,410, and baccarat £1,322,612. On this gross income the State takes 15 per cent. Therefore, in 1911, the French authorities obtained from the gamblers at French casinos the sum of £268,193. It is understood that, like the receipts from the racecourses, all such revenue is to be employed for social purposes that benefit the masses.

In England it is the betting on horse-racing, rowing, football and cricket matches that needs the imposition of a heavy tax. Above all the "cover" speculations on the Stock Exchange and the "bucket shop" transactions should be abolished altogether, or taxed at a prohibitive rate. Roulette is absolutely honest and the brokerage charged very moderate, but these speculations on 'Change are accompanied by multifarious forms of lying and deception. They are in every sense more mischievous and should be dealt with unmercifully.

Then, when we have heavily taxed what we cannot suppress, we might enjoy in England some of the luxuries which are the commonplace of everyday existence in Monaco. There would be money to run theatres for the sake of art and not for profit, to issue publications because they are needed and not because they are likely to have a profitable sale, to subsidise original research, to

enlarge museums, to establish new chairs at the universities. These and many other things of local and universal advantage are done in the principality because, before anyone can gamble, provision is made that a part of the proceeds shall be so employed.

Unfortunately many, it is to be feared most, of the visitors to Monte Carlo do not realise this. They are too busy doing nothing, for talking about roulette can scarcely be considered an occupation. The treasures of art and science are heaped up around them, but the only treasure they perceive is the hard cash thrown on the tables.

Yet there is a minority, a growing minority, which frequents the principality because they love Monaco and the surrounding country. If anything could keep them away it is the gambling and the talk of gambling. At best, it is viewed as a necessary evil and endured because it is a very easy and bountiful source of revenue. In any case, no one in London refused to cross the first Westminster Bridge because it was built from the proceeds of a lottery. Nor would we to-day refrain from utilising the British Museum because the libraries of Sir Hans Sloan, Sir Robert Cotton and the Harleian, which formed the nucleus of the British Museum, were all obtained by lotteries. Mr Maberly Phillips, F.R.A., in a recent lecture on the South Sea Bubble, explained that, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth onwards, the spirit of speculation and gambling has been utilised to raise revenue and the English Government, between 1710 and 1795, obtained £11,000,000 by that means. Since lotteries, however, have been abolished, no one would desire to see them re-established. The brilliant success of Monte Carlo must not tempt us to provide increased facilities for gambling. It does, on the other hand, suggest that better use might be made of all the forms of gambling that survive, and indeed abound, in this country. Let us tax what we have not been able to prevent.

In the meanwhile, much better use might be made of the advantages created at Monaco by the application of this

policy. Personally, and as an Englishman, I feel absolutely humiliated when I watch the frivolous behaviour of my fellow-countrymen at Monte Carlo. Sports, gambling, scandal, what else do they talk about ? The German gambles also. He is very fond of gambling and became familiar with the games played at Monte Carlo when they were allowed in his own country. But he also goes out with a reference-book in one pocket and a notebook in the other. He examines, he studies, and returns to his own country with more knowledge than he had on leaving home. He has brought wider experience and instruction back with him and therefore is likely to be a more useful member of the community to which he belongs.

As compared with the forty-five million inhabitants of these islands, very few English men and women have the means to visit the principality of Monaco. Those few who can afford to go so far are indeed fortunate. But surely, if they have actually visited this favoured centre of art, science, sociology, where so many questions of universal interest can be advantageously studied, they owe it to the community from which they emerge to take back with them such increase of knowledge as will prove they were worthy of the privileges they enjoyed.

THE END

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